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OR,

THE TITLES AND PREROGATIVES

OF

AS DESCRIBED BY

THE EARLY FATHERS, ECCLESIASTICAL WRITERS,
AND COUNCILS OF THE CHURCH.

TO WHICH ARE APPENDED

*BRIEF NOTES ON THE HISTORY AND ACTS OF THE FIRST FOUR
GENERAL COUNCILS, AND THE COUNCIL OF SARDICA, IN
THEIR RELATION TO THE PAPAL SUPREMACY.*

"Si quis Cathedræ Petri jungitur, meus est."—ST. JEROME (Epist. xvi.)

LONDON: BURNS AND OATES.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE object of the following compilation is to present a faithful summary or abstract of the Patristic evidence relative to the Titles and Prerogatives ascribed to St. Peter, and to his See and Successors, during the early ages of the Church.

The original text—Greek or Latin—of the more important passages is appended to each extract.

In the case of those cited from authors of the first five centuries, the translation generally, but not invariably, adopted is the very literal and accurate one supplied by the late Dr. Waterworth in his valuable works, "*The Faith of Catholics*," &c. (vols. i. and ii.), and "*The Fathers on St. Peter and his Successors*," to which the reader may be referred for the context of many of the short extracts given in the following pages. In the case of other and of later authorities, the translations furnished by Mr. Allies in his "*See of St. Peter*," Archbishop Kenrick in his "*Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated*," and other English authors, have been freely adopted.

The present edition will be found to contain much additional matter, both in the text and notes; and is further enlarged by Notes on the history and Acts of the four first General Councils and the Council of Sardica, in their relation to the supremacy of the Pope.

List of Fathers, Councils, and Chief Ecclesiastical Writers cited in this Work.

Agatho (POPE), succeeded Domnus A.D. 678, and died A.D. 682. The chief event of his reign was the Sixth Œcumenical Council, held at Constantinople A.D. 680-1. His Epistle to the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, in which he "asserted the supremacy of the Roman See over the Eastern Church, and the absolute infallibility of its Bishops" (SMITH and WACE'S *Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literature*,¹ vol. i. p. 60), is published with the Acts of the Council by Labbe and Cossart, Hardouin, Mansi, &c.

Alcuin (FLACCUS ALBINUS), an English monk, who became renowned throughout Christendom for his great learning, was born of noble Northumbrian parentage about A.D. 735, and brought up from infancy in the celebrated school of York (founded by Archbishop Egbert, the disciple and friend of Venerable Bede), of which he became the head A.D. 780. He was sent to Rome A.D. 781, and shortly afterwards, at the request of the Emperor Charlemagne, went to France, where he spent the remainder of his life in various literary and scholastic labours, dying at Tours A.D. 804. "His services to religion and literature in Europe," says a Protestant writer, "based indeed on the foundation of Bede, were more widely extended, and in themselves inestimable" (*Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.*, vol. i. p. 74). The best editions of his writings are those of Froben (Ratisbon, 1777, 2 vols. fol.), and Migne (*Patrol. Lat.*,² vols. c. ci.)

¹ The English reader will find much interesting and valuable information regarding the lives and writings of the Fathers and other early Christian authors in SMITH and WACE'S *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature*, now in course of publication by Mr. J. Murray.

An English translation of nearly all the extant Christian writings of the three first centuries will be found in the *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, published by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, in 24 vols. 8vo.

² The following are the principal COLLECTIONS of the works of the Early Fathers and ecclesiastical writers :—

1. *Maxima Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum et Antiquorum Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, &c., Lugdun., 1677, 27 vols. in folio.

2. *Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum, Antiquorumque Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum*, ed. A. Gallandi, Venet., 1765, 14 vols. fol.

3. *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus*, ed. Migne, Paris, 1843, et seq. (*Patrol. Lat.*, 217 vols. in 4to; *Patrol Græc.*, First Series, 104 vols.)

Ambrose (ST.), the son of a Prætorian Præfect of Gaul, was born A.D. 335-340, became Archbishop of Milan A.D. 374, and died A.D. 397. See account of his life and writings in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, &c., i. pp. 91-99. The best editions of his works are those of Erasmus (Basle, 1527), the Roman (1580-5), and the Benedictine (Paris, 1686-90), which last has been republished by Migne in 4 vols. (*Patrolog. Lat.*, vols. xiv.-xvii.)

Ambrosiaster is the name given to a writer who was a contemporary of St. Ambrose and of Pope Damasus, and whose *Commentary on the Thirteen Epistles of St. Paul* was formerly attributed to St. Ambrose and printed with his works. St. Augustine, however, reckons "Sanctus Hilarius" (whether Hilary the Deacon, or Hilary Bishop of Pavia, is uncertain) as the author. The words cited in p. 117 of this work show that it was written during the Pontificate of Pope Damasus (A.D. 366-384), and "other marks, negative and positive, point to the same period" (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, &c., vol. i. p. 87).

Anastasius I. (POPE), was consecrated A.D. 398, and died 402. His Epistles published by Coustant, in Gallandi (Tom. viii.), and Migne (Tom. xx.)

Anastasius II. (POPE), succeeded Gelasius I. A.D. 496, and died A.D. 498. Two of his Epistles are published in Labbe, *Concil.* Tom. iv. &c.

Anatolius (ST.), Bishop of Laodicea, A.D. 269. See Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 32. His work on the Paschal question published by Bucherius (*Doct. Temp.* Antw. 1634), and in Galland. Tom. iii.

Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 449-458. His Epistles to Pope Leo I. and others will be found in Labbe, *Conc.* Tom. iv. &c.

Arator, the author of a Latin hexameter poem in two books, entitled *Hist. Apost. ex Luca Expressa*, flourished cir. A.D. 540. The latest edition of his poem is in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* vol. lxviii.

Anthony (ST.), the great founder of monasticism, was born at Coma, on the borders of Upper Egypt, A.D. 250, and died A.D. 355, at the age of 105. His extant writings are in Galland. Tom. iv.

Arnobius Junior, a priest or bishop of Gaul, who flourished cir. A.D. 440. His *Commentary on the Psalms* is dedicated to Leontius, Bishop of Arles, and to Rusticus, Bishop of Narbonne. Published in *Bibl. Max. Patr.* (Tom. viii.), and Migne (*Patr. Lat.* Tom. liii.)

Asterius (ST.), Bishop of Amasea, in Pontus, was a contemporary of St. Chrysostom, and wrote about A.D. 387. His works were published by F. Combefis in his *Auctuarium* to the *Biblioth. Patrum* (Paris, 1648), and a more complete edition by Migne (*Patrol. Græc.* vol. xl.)

The best collections of the Councils are those of—

1. Labbe and Cossart, Paris, 1674, 17 vols. in fol.
2. Hardouin, Paris, 1715, 12 vols. in fol.
3. Mansi, Florence, 1759, 31 vols. in fol.

The genuine Epistles of the early Roman Pontiffs, from A.D. 96 to 440, were published by Coustant, Paris, 1721, in fol., and continued by Thiel, Lipsiæ, 1867.

Athanasius (ST.), Archbishop of Alexandria, and the great champion of orthodoxy against the Arians, was born A.D. 296, and died A.D. 373. See account of his life and writings in *Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.*, vol. i. pp. 179–203. The best edition of his works is the Benedictine, by Montfouçon (2 vols. fol. Paris, 1698), republished, with additions, by Migne, in 4 vols (*Patr. Græc.* vols. xxv.–xxviii.)

Auctor de Rebaptismate. This anonymous author is proved by Tillemont, Gallandi, and Dom Ceillier to have written against St. Cyprian about A.D. 254. His treatise is published in Galland. Tom. iii., Migne, vol. iii. p. 1187, *seq.*

Augustine (ST.), the celebrated Bishop of Hippo, in Africa, was born A.D. 354, and died A.D. 430. The best edition of his voluminous writings is the Benedictine (11 vols. fol. Paris, 1679–1700), republished by Leclerc (Antwerp, 1700–3, in 12 vols. fol.), by Gaume (Paris, 1836–39, 22 vols. roy. 8vo), Antonelli (Venice, 1858–60, 14 vols. fol.), and Migne (Paris, 16 vols., in *Patr. Lat.* vols. xxxii.–xlvi.) An English translation of his works has been published by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, in 16 vols. 8vo; and of a portion of them in the *Library of the Fathers*, published by Parker & Co., Oxford.

Avitus (ST.), Archbishop of Vienne, in Gaul, was born cir. A.D. 450, and died A.D. 523. His works are published in Galland. Tom. x. and by Migne (*Patrol. Lat.* vol. lix.), with the exception of some discoveries of M. Delisle, published in 1866.

Bachiarus, a monk who flourished in the early part of the fifth century. His *Libellus de Fide Apologeticus* was written “to satisfy the Bishop of Rome of his orthodoxy,” and “its date is fixed approximately at about the middle of the fifth century” (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, vol. i. p. 236). This and another treatise are published by Gallandi (Tom. ix.), and by Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vol. xx.)

Basil the Great (ST.), Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, was born A.D. 329, and died A.D. 379. See account of his life and writings in the *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, &c., vol. i. pp. 283–297. The best edition of his works is the Benedictine, by Julian Garnier (Paris, 1721–30, in 3 vols. fol.); republished by Gaume (Paris, 1839, 3 vols.), and Migne (*Patr. Græc.* vols. xxix.–xxxii.)

Basil of Seleucia (ST.), Bishop of Seleucia, in Isauria, took a leading part in the Council of Constantinople, A.D. 448, at which Eutyches was condemned. His Homilies were first published (in Greek) by Commelin (Lugd. Batav. 1596); and they are also printed with the works of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, ed. Paris, 1672, and in Migne (*Patr. Gr.* Tom. lxxxv.)

Bede (THE VENERABLE), the historian of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and called by the Protestant NEANDER “emphatically the teacher of England” (Bohn’s *Neander*, vol. v. p. 210), was born A.D. 673, at Jarrow, in Northumbria, and died A.D. 735. His collected works have been published by Dr. Giles in 12 vols. (London and Oxford, 1843), and by Migne

(*Patrol. Lat.* vols. xc.–xcv.) An English translation of his *Ecclesiastical History* is published in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*.

Bernard (ST.), the celebrated Abbot of Clairvaux, was born A.D. 1091, and died A.D. 1153. So great and universal was the esteem in which he was held, that he became, says NEANDER, “the counsellor of noblemen, bishops, princes, and popes. . . . His multitudinous labours extended abroad from Clairvaux through the whole of Europe. . . . To all parts of France, Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, England, Ireland, Denmark, and Sweden, monks must be sent from Clairvaux for the purpose of founding new monasteries or of reforming old ones ; and thus Bernard, at his death in 1153, left behind him 160 monasteries which had been founded under his influence” (Bohn's *Neander*, vol. vii. pp. 349–352). The Benedictine edition of St. Bernard's works has been republished by Gaume (4 vols. roy. 8vo), and by Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vols. clxxxii.–clxxxv.)

Boniface I. (ST. and POPE) succeeded Zosimus A.D. 418, and died A.D. 422. He was “an unswerving supporter of orthodoxy and Augustine in the contest against Pelagius” (*Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, &c., vol. i. p. 328). His Epistles are published in Labbe (Tom. iv.), Coustant, Gallandi (Tom. ix.), and Migne (*Patrol. Lat.* vol. xx.)

Boniface (ST.), the Apostle of Germany, was born of noble parents at Crediton, in Wessex, in the last quarter of the seventh century. He suffered martyrdom A.D. 781. Protestant historians, whilst acknowledging his entire submission to the Papal authority, speak in strong terms of commendation of his apostolic zeal and labours. See Neander's *Church Hist.*, vol. v. pp. 62, 65, 66, 69, 75, 87, 98, &c. ; Milman's *Hist. of Lat. Christ.*, Book iv. ch. v. ; *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, vol. i. pp. 324–327, and vol. ii. p. 792. M. GUIZOT says : “For him Rome is the centre, and the Pope is the chief of Christianity” (*Hist. of European Civilizat.*, Bohn's ed. vol. ii. p. 175). He gives his oath of submission to the Pope, and his account of the first German Council, held under his presidency in 742, and adds : “Of a surety, it is impossible more formally to submit the new Church, the new Christian nations, to the Papal power” (*Ib.* p. 177). MILMAN says : “Boniface had won a new empire to Christianity, and was placed over it as spiritual sovereign by the respectful gratitude of the Pope. He received the pall of a Metropolitan, and was empowered as Primate to erect bishoprics throughout Germany. Again he visited Rome, and was invested by Gregory III., the new Pope, with full powers as representative of the Apostolic See” (*Hist. of Latin Christ.*, Book iv. ch. v.)

Caius, a presbyter of the Roman Church, who wrote in Greek at the beginning of the third century. Fragments of his writings are preserved by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.* ii. 25 ; iii. 28, 31 ; vi. 30) and Photius. Bishop Pearson, following the last-named author, attributes to Caius the extract given by Eusebius in *Hist. Eccles.* v. 28, in which Pope Victor is called “the thirteenth Bishop of Rome from Peter.” Muratori also ascribes to

him the celebrated fragment on the Canon known as "The Canon of Muratori."

Cæsarius of Arles (ST.), born at Chalons cir. A.D. 468, became Bishop of Arles in 502, and died in 542. See *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, i. pp. 376-378.

Cassian, a monk of Scythia, brought up in a monastery at Bethlehem, and who afterwards became celebrated as a founder of Western monachism, was born cir. A.D. 350, and died cir. A.D. 440. His writings are published in *Bibl. Max. Patr.* (Tom. viii.) and Migne (vols. xlix., l.)

Chrysologus (ST. PETER), Archbishop of Ravenna, A.D. 433 to 454, was born at Imola cir. A.D. 405, and died there A.D. 454. Like Chrysostom, he obtained the name by which he was usually known by the golden brilliancy of his oratory. His extant works are published in *Bibl. Max. Patr.* Tom. vii., and by Migne in *Patr. Lat.* vol. lii. Many of his works perished by fire, partly in the siege of Imola by Theodoric in 524, partly in the conflagration of the Archbishop's library at Ravenna, A.D. 700.

Chrysostom (ST. JOHN), born A.D. 347, was priest and preacher at Antioch from A.D. 381 to 398, and Bishop of Constantinople from A.D. 398 to 404. The surname of "Golden-mouthed" was given to him on account of the extraordinary brilliancy of his eloquence. See account of his life and writings in *Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.*, vol. i. pp. 518-535. The best edition of his works is the Benedictine, by Montfaucon, 13 vols. fol. Paris, 1718), reprinted by Gaume (Paris, 1834-39), and Migne (16 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1863, in *Patrol. Græc.*, vols. xlvii.-lxiv.)

Clement of Alexandria (ST.), born at Athens cir. A.D. 155, had as his instructors in Christianity Athenagoras and Pantænus, and succeeded the latter as chief of the catechetical school at Alexandria A.D. 190-203. His works are enumerated by Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 13), Jerome (*De Vir. Illust.* c. 38), and Photius (*Cod.* 109-111). See *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, &c., i. 559-567. The best editions of his works are those of Sylburg (Heidelb. 1592), Potter (Oxford, 1715), Migne (*Patr. Græc.*, vols. viii., ix.), Dindorf (Oxford, 1869), and a translation of the whole is published in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Christ. Library*.

Clement of Rome (ST. and POPE), was St. Peter's third successor in the See of Rome, from A.D. 92 to 101. By some writers he is considered to have been long before ordained by St. Peter as a *coadjutor* Bishop in Rome, or as a missionary Bishop unattached to any particular church, and employed to assist the Apostles in their labours by going about to preach the Gospel and establish and confirm the churches in various places (Epiphan. in *Hær.*, 27). The reader will find some account of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, and of the restoration of the lost portion of the text (by the MS. discovered in the Library of the Holy Sepulchre at Fanari, in Constantinople, and published by Bryennios, Metropolitan of Serræ, at the end of 1875), in notes to p. ii. § 3 of this work. The *Appendix* to Bishop LIGHTFOOT'S work on the Epistles of Clement contains the newly recovered portion, with introduction, notes, and a translation of the whole Epistle.

Olementines (THE), were spurious writings attributed to Pope Clement I., and composed in the interest of the Ebionite or Gnostic Judaising heresy towards the end of the second century. They had their origin not in Rome but in the East,—Eastern Syria, according to Prof. Uhlhorn (see *Dict. of Christ. Biog. &c.*, i. 567–578). ST. EPIPHANIUS states that they contain doctrine quite at variance with that taught by St. Clement in his genuine Epistles (*Hær.* 30, n. 15). These documents were founded on “the universally admitted fact of St. Peter’s having laboured in Rome ;” and the Ebionite heretics had a special motive in choosing *St. Clement* (after St. James) for their hero and founder, under whose name they might try to gain entrance and authority for their writings, since “a man who had known both Apostles, and was a successor of St. Peter in the imperial capital, whose Epistle was read with reverence in so many Churches, and gave evidence of such a Jewish turn of mind, was fitter than any one else of the apostolic age for being represented as the connecting link between St. Peter and the Ebonite communities.” See Dollinger’s *First Age of the Church*, 2d ed., pp. 297, 302 ; Freppel, *Les Pères Apostol.*, pp. 161–204.

Cœlestine (ST. and POPE), the 42d Bishop of Rome, succeeded Boniface I. A.D. 422, and died in 432. This Pope sent Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, to repress the Pelagian heresy in Britain, and SS. Palladius and Patrick to convert the Irish. Hence ST. PROSPER OF ACQUITAINE (a contemporary) said of him that “whilst he took pains to keep the Roman island (Britain) Catholic, he made the barbarian island (Ireland) to become Christian” (*Prosp. Adv. Collator.* n. 41). Sixteen of his extant Epistles are published in Coustant. i. pp. 1051–1228 ; in Galland. Tom. ix., and in the Collections of the Councils. Pope Cœlestine presided, through his Legates, at the General Council of Ephesus. NEANDER admits that he “claimed for himself a supreme judicatory authority,” and “by the sovereign authority of the Apostolic See” empowered St. Cyril of Alexandria to depose the heretical Patriarch Nestorius (Bohn’s *Neander*, vol. iv. p. 145).

Columbanus (ST.), a celebrated Irish monk, was born in Leinster, A.D. 543, and was brought up in the monastery of Bangor, on the coast of Down, under St. Comgall, by whom he was sent, A.D. 590, with twelve other monks, to preach the gospel to the tribes dwelling on the borders of the Frankish kingdom. He subsequently founded the great monasteries of Anegrey, Luxeuil, Fontaines, and Bobbio. See the account of his life and labours in Montalembert’s *Monks of the West*, vol. ii. His writings are published in Fleming’s *Collectanea Sacra* (Lovan. 1667), Galland. Tom. xii., &c.

Cornelius (ST. and POPE), succeeded the martyred Pope Fabian A.D. 251, courageously accepting his election to the Pontificate, although the tyrannical Emperor Decius had declared that “*he would rather see a new pretender to the Empire than a new Bishop of Rome*” (*Cyp. Epist.* lv.) He was martyred A.D. 252. Several of his Epistles are published among

those of St. Cyprian. Eusebius quotes his Epistle to Fabius, Bishop of Antioch (*Hist. Eccles.* vi. 43).

Cyprian (ST.), Bishop of Carthage from A.D. 248 to 257, was born early in the third century, and became a convert to Christianity A.D. 246. He suffered martyrdom A.D. 258. See account of his life and writings in *Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.*, vol. i. pp. 739–755; and in Bishop Freppel's *S. Cyprien*, Paris, 1865. See also Jungmann's *Dissert. Select. in Hist. Ecclesiast.*, vol. i. pp. 265–357. The best editions of his works are those of Erasmus (Basle, 1520), Paul Manutius (Rome, 1563), Pamelius (Antw. 1568), Rigaltius (Paris, 1648), Fell (Oxon. 1682), Baluzius and Dom. Prud. Maranus,—the celebrated *Benedictine* edition (Paris, 1726), republished by Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vols. iii., iv.); Goldhorn (*Cyp. Op. Genuina*, Lipsiæ, 1838), and J. Hartel (1868–71). An English translation of Cyprian's works is published in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*, and another by Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh in their *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*.

Cyril of Alexandria (ST.), the great opponent of the Nestorian heresy, succeeded Theophilus as Archbishop of Alexandria A.D. 412, and died A.D. 444. At the General Council of Ephesus he presided as the plenipotentiary of Pope Cœlestine. The best edition of his works is that by Aubert (6 vols., Paris, 1658), republished by Migne (*Patrol. Græc.* vols. lxxviii.–lxxvii.) A new edition of his works, edited by Dr. Pusey, has been published in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*.

Cyril of Jerusalem (ST.), was born in Jerusalem about A.D. 315. He succeeded Maximus as Bishop of Jerusalem A.D. 350. His eighteen *Catechetical Lectures*, addressed to Catechumens, and five *Mystagogical Lectures*, addressed to the newly-baptized, were composed cir. A.D. 347, while he was still a priest. See *Dict. of Christ. Biog., &c.*, i. p. 762. The best editions of his works are those of Milles (Oxford, 1703), and the Benedictine (Paris, 1720, and Venice, 1761), republished by Migne (*Patrol. Græc.* vol. xxxiii.) A translation of his Catechetical Lectures is published in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*.

Damasus (ST. and POPE), succeeded Liberius A.D. 366, after violent opposition, leading to bloodshed, on the part of the Arian faction and the Anti-Pope Ursicinus. "The claim of Damasus to be the true Pope rests," says a Protestant writer, "upon the supposed priority of his election and consecration, which is asserted by the contemporary Jerome and Rufinus, and by Socrates; his claim being recognised also by St. Ambrose, by Councils held twelve years afterwards at Rome, and in 381 at Aquileia, and by the general subsequent consent of the Church" (*Dict. of Christ. Biog., &c.*, i. p. 123). "Damasus used his success well, and the Chair of Peter . . . was never more respected nor more vigorous than during his bishopric. He appears as a principal defender of orthodoxy against Arian and other heretics" (*Ib.* p. 783). "His correspondence with Jerome, his attached friend and secretary, begins A.D. 376, and closes only with his death, A.D. 384." His Epistles are published in

Coustant, Tom. i., and his collected works in *Bibl. Max. Patr.* Tom. iv. and Tom. xxvii., Galland. Tom. vi. p. 321, *seq.*; and Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* vol. xiii.

Dionysius of Corinth (ST.), succeeded Primus as Bishop A.D. 171. Eusebius mentions eight "Catholic Epistles," addressed by Dionysius to different Churches, as extant in his own time; but of these nothing now remains but the few extracts given by him in his History. In one of these he refers to the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome, and in another to the custom of reading the Epistles of Pope Clement I. and Pope Soter in the Churches of the East.

Ennodius, Bishop of Pavia, was born at Arles, cir. A.D. 473, and died A.D. 521. Writings published by Sirmond (Paris, 1611), in *Bibl. Max. Patr.* (Lugdun. 1677, Tom. ix.), and by Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vol. lxiii.)

Ephraim Syrus (ST.), deacon or priest of the Church of Edessa, was born cir. A.D. 306, at Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, and died cir. A.D. 380. See *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, &c., vol. ii. pp. 137-144. His extant works, in Syriac and Greek (the latter probably translated in his time), fill six vols. folio, and were edited by Assemani at Rome in 1732 and 1747. A Greek edition was published at Oxford in 1709 by Edward Thwaites; a Latin translation of all his works—Syriac and Greek—at Venice in 1775. An English translation of his "Select Works," by Morris, was published at Oxford in 1847.

Epiphanius (ST.), Archbishop of Salamis, in the island of Cyprus, was born in Palestine cir. A.D. 310, and died A.D. 403. His great work, entitled *Panarium*, or *Box of Antidotes against all Heresies*, appeared in 374. The best editions of his works are those of Petavius (2 vols. fol. Colon. 1622), Dindorf (5 vols. 8vo, Lipsiæ, 1859-1863), Migne (*Patrol. Gr.* vols. xli. xlii.)

Eusebius (Pamphilus), Bishop of Cæsarea, and commonly called "the Father of Ecclesiastical History," was born between A.D. 260 and 270. He died cir. A.D. 340. In his *Ecclesiastical History* many valuable extracts from the works of earlier writers (since lost) are preserved. His complete works are published by Migne in 6 vols. *Patr. Græc.* vols. xix.-xxiv.) An English translation of his *Ecclesiastical History* is published in Bohn's *Theological Library*.

The importance of EUSEBIUS' testimony can be duly estimated by those only who consider the vast number of works by much earlier authors to which he had access, and of which he availed himself when writing his *History* and *Chronicle*.¹ Dr. LIGHTFOOT, Bishop of Durham,

¹ Amongst the very important works—lost for many centuries—to which Eusebius had access, may be mentioned the *Five Books on "The Interpretation of Our Lord's Declarations"* by PAPIAS, Bishop of Hierapolis, A.D. 118 (see Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 36, 39); the work by JUSTIN MARTYR, A.D. 139, "*Against all the Heresies*" (Euseb. iv. 11); the *Five Books of Commentaries* by HEGESIPPUS, who "flourished nearest the days of the Apostles" (Euseb. ii. 23; iv. 8, and 22); the eight "*Catholic Epistles*" addressed to various Churches by DIONYSIUS OF

says :—"To Eusebius we are indebted for almost all that we know of the lost ecclesiastical literature of the second century. This literature must have been very considerable" (*Contemp. Review*, January, 1875). And again :—"Pamphilus had gathered about him a collection of books which seems to have been unrivalled in Christian circles, and which, supplemented by the excellent library of Bishop Alexander at Jerusalem (*Hist. Eccl.* vi. 20), enabled Eusebius to indulge to the full his portentous appetite for learning" (*Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.*, vol. ii. p. 309. See also pp. 324, 325). Dr. Lightfoot and Canon Westcott consider that the first nine books of Eusebius' *History* were written before the year 315, and so belong to the Ante-Nicene period.

Eulogius, fortieth Bishop of Alexandria and Patriarch, A.D. 579-607. An account of his life and writings is given by Photius in his *Bibliotheca*. Several letters addressed to him by Pope Gregory the Great are extant.

Ferrandus, a disciple of St. Fulgentius and deacon of Carthage, cir. A.D. 523. His extant Epistles are published in Migne's *Patrol. Lat.* vol. lxxv.

Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, was a contemporary of St. Cyprian, and died A.D. 269. His violent Epistle against Pope Stephen, addressed to St. Cyprian, is commonly cited by Protestant writers as though it bore evidence against the Papal claims; but Mr. Shepherd, an Anglican clergyman, maintains that it is "*a forgery in the Papal interest!*" (Canon Robertson's *Hist. of the Church*, Book i. ch. 6, *note*, p. 176). The Epistle is published with St. Cyprian's works. See Bishop Freppel's *S. Cyprien*, p. 427, *seq.*; Jungmann's *Dissert. Select. in Hist. Eccles.*, vol. i. pp. 319-357.

Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, and the last representative of Latin

CORINTH, who flourished cir. A.D. 170 (*Euseb.* iv. 23); several Epistles by IRENÆUS, cir. A.D. 180, "against those that attempted to disfigure the sound institutions of the Church of Rome" (*Euseb.* v. 20); three important works by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Euseb.* v. 11; vi. 13); numerous important works by AFRICANUS, who flourished A.D. 200 (*Euseb.* i. 6, 7; vi. 31); various works and epistles of DIONYSIUS OF ALEXANDRIA, A.D. 240 (*Euseb.* vi. 46; vii. *Proem.* and c. 20, 24, 26)—several of which Epistles were addressed to Popes Stephen, Xystus, and Dionysius (*Ib.* c. 2, 5, 7, 9, 26). Also a large number of books by PENYTUS (*Ib.* iv. 21, 23), MELITO OF SARDIS (*Ib.* c. 26), APOLLINARIS (c. 27), MILTIADES (*Ib.* v. 17), APOLLONIUS (*Ib.* c. 18), and others, of whom he says :—"Innumerable others there also are that have come down to us, even the names of which it would be impossible to give. All of these were orthodox and ecclesiastical writers" (*Ib.* v. 27); and again :—"Many learned men of the Church also flourished in these times, of whom we may easily find epistles, which they wrote to one another, now extant. These have been also preserved for us in the library of Ælia (Jerusalem), which was built by Alexander, who was Bishop there. From this we have also been able to collect materials for our present work." He proceeds to mention specially the treatises and epistles of BERYLLUS, HIPPOLYTUS, and CAIUS (*Ib.* vi. 20).

poetry in Gaul, was born at Ceneda, cir. A.D. 530, and died A.D. 603. His complete works were published by Brower (Mogunt. 1634). The best edition is that of Luchi (2 vols. 4to, Rome, 1786), which is reprinted by Migne in *Patr. Lat.* vol. lxxxviii.

Gelasius of Cyzicus, author of a Greek work on the history of the First Council of Nice, flourished cir. A.D. 465. His work is published in all the Collections of the Councils, and in Migne, *Patr. Gr.* Tom. lxxxv.

Gelasius I. (ST. and POPE), Bishop of Rome A.D. 492–496. See *Dict. of Christ. Biog. &c.*, vol. ii. pp. 617–620. His Decretal Epistles are published in the Collections of the Councils, and by Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vol. lix.), and Thiel (*Epist. Rom. Pont.* Tom. i.)

Gregory of Nazianzum (ST.), a renowned champion of the Catholic faith against the Arians, was born cir. A.D. 329. He became Metropolitan of Cæsarea cir. A.D. 370, and Bishop of Constantinople in 380; but soon resigned that See and retired to his native country, where he died A.D. 389. A full account of his life and writings is given in the *Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.* vol. ii. pp. 741–761. The best edition of his works is that of the Benedictines and A. B. Cailau (2 vols. fol. Paris, 1778–1849), republished by Migne (*Patr. Græc.* vols. xxxv.–xxxviii.)

Gregory of Nyssa (ST.), was the younger brother of Basil the Great, and became Bishop of Nyssa, in Cappadocia, A.D. 371, but was deposed and banished by the Arians in 375. He acted a prominent part at the General Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, and died A.D. 395. The best edition of his works is that of Morell (2 vols. fol. Paris, 1615, and 3 vols. fol. 1638), Gallandi (Tom. vi.), and Migne (*Patr. Græc.* vols. xliv.–xlvi.)

Gregory the Great (ST. and POPE), was born cir. A.D. 520, and died A.D. 604. He was Bishop of Rome from A.D. 590 to 604. VENERABLE BEDE says of him :—"Whereas he bore the Pontifical power over all the world, and was placed over the Churches already reduced to the faith of truth, *he made our nation (England), till then given up to idols, the Church of Christ,*"—i.e., by the mission of Augustine and his monks (*Hist. Ecclesiast.*, Lib. ii. c. 1). The best edition of his works is the Benedictine (Paris, 1705, 4 vols. fol., and Venice, 1768–76, 4 vols. fol.), republished by Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vols. lxxv.–lxxix.)

Hegesippus, the earliest writer on ecclesiastical history, was born cir. A.D. 115. The whole of his works have been lost, with the exception of the extracts preserved by Eusebius and Photius. He states that when in Rome, during the Pontificate of Anicetus (A.D. 156–167), he compiled a list of the succession of Bishops in that See up to that date (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 22).

Hilary of Poitiers (ST.), born cir. A.D. 320, became Bishop of Poitiers A.D. 355, and was banished the next year by the Emperor Constantius for his zealous defence of Athanasius against Saturninus. He returned to his See in 359, and died in 366. In 1852 he was declared a "Doctor of the Universal Church" by Pope Pius IX. The best edition

of his works is the Benedictine (Coustant, Paris, 1693), enlarged by Maffei in 1730 (2 vols. fol.), and Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vols. ix., x.)

Hippolytus (ST.), a disciple of St. Irenæus, and author of many learned Greek works, some of which are still extant. By some early writers he is said to have been Bishop of Portus Romanus (St. Jerome declared that he could not discover of what See he had been Bishop), and by others, in later ages, he is supposed to have set himself up as an Anti-Pope during the pontificate of Pope Callistus (A.D. 218 *seq.*) Since the publication of the work entitled *Philosophoumena*, or *Confutation of all Heresies*, in ten books, which the first editor (Miller, Oxford, 1851) attributed to ORIGEN, the authorship of the same has been ascribed to HIPPOLYTUS by Bunsen, Wordsworth, Freppel, Gieseler, Dollinger, De Smedt, and several other learned writers. By Jallabert, Cruice, Dumont, and De Rossi the work is attributed to TERTULLIAN; by Fessler and Baur to CAIUS; by Armellini to NOVATIAN. Dr. Lefebvre (*Revue Cath.*, 1871) considers the authorship altogether uncertain; and Cardinal Franzelin and Cardinal Newman are decidedly of opinion that Hippolytus was not the author (Franz., *Tract. de Deo Trino*, p. 147, not. 2; Newman, *Tracts Theological and Ecclesiastical*, 1874, p. 220 *seq.*) Prof. Jungmann, who has examined the whole subject very carefully (*Dissertat. Select. in Hist. Eccles.*, vol. i., 1880, pp. 173–262), considers that there are “solid and very weighty arguments” opposed to St. Hippolytus being regarded as the author. The question is of interest chiefly on account of the work containing what Cardinal Newman calls a “malignant libel made on his contemporary Popes” (Zephyrinus and Callistus) by the author, whose calumnies have naturally been turned to account by Wordsworth and other Anglican and Protestant writers.

The *Chronicle* of St. Hippolytus contained a list of the early Bishops of Rome, counting St. Peter as the first; but the portion containing it was supposed to be lost, until restored by Mommsen, who proved “that the earlier part of the celebrated *Liberian Catalogue* is derived from the list of Roman Bishops given by St. Hippolytus” (*Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.*, vol. i. pp. 506, 507, 555–557. See also Mr. Plummer’s Appendix A to his translation of Dollinger’s *Hippolytus and Callistus*, pp. 336–339).

Hormisdas (POPE), was elected A.D. 514. At the request of the Emperor Justin, and John, Patriarch of Constantinople, this Pope sent a deputation to bring about the re-union of the Monophysites with the Church. This was to be effected by the proposal of a profession of faith, commonly called *The Formula of Pope Hormisdas*, to be signed by the Eastern Bishops. It was accepted and signed by all of them (including those who had joined the Acacian schism), as also by the Emperor Justinian, and by the Patriarchs of Constantinople—Epiphanius, John, and Mennas. It was also signed by every Bishop before taking his seat in the Eighth General Council, held A.D. 869.

Ignatius (ST.), surnamed Theophorus, was a disciple of St. John, and

became the second successor of St. Peter in the See of Antioch (Origen, *Hom. vi. in Lucam*; Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* iii. 36; Athanasius, *Epist. de Synod. Arim. et Seleuc.*) He suffered martyrdom under the Emperor Trajan, by whose orders he was conveyed by soldiers to Rome, and there cast to the wild beasts in the Amphitheatre. During his journey he was met by delegates from several of the Christian Churches, and it was under these circumstances that he wrote, from Smyrna, his Epistles to the Ephesians, the Magnesians, the Trallians, and the Romans; from Troas, those to the Philadelphians, the Smyrnæans, and to their Bishop, Polycarp (Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 36). His seven Epistles (the shorter Greek recension) are referred to by Polycarp, Irenæus, Origen, Athanasius, Eusebius, Jerome, Theodoret, and other early writers; and the Syriac epitome of three of them, published by Cureton,¹ is considered by the best critics (such as Hefele, Denzinger, Mœsinger,—Catholics; Petermann, Zahn,² Ullhorn, Jacobson, Mill, Lightfoot, Routh, Hussey, Blunt, and others,—Protestants) to have rather confirmed the genuineness of the Greek text than otherwise. See also *Quarterly Review*, No. 170; *Dublin Review*, June, 1858; *Contemporary Review*, Feb. 1875; *Dict. of Christ. Biog. &c.*, vol. iii.

Innocent I. (ST. and POPE), succeeded Anastasius I. A.D. 402, and died A.D. 417. Thirty-four of his Epistles are published in Coustant's *Ep. Rom. Pont.* Tom. i. pp. 739–931; in Galland, Tom. viii. pp. 545–612; and Migne, *Patr. Lat.* Tom. xx.

Irenæus (ST.), Bishop of Lyons, was born in Asia Minor cir. A.D. 135. In his Epistle to Florinus (ap. Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 20) he speaks of his former intimate acquaintance with St. Polycarp, the disciple of St. John, and of the opportunities that he had had of being thoroughly instructed by him in the doctrine and traditions of the Apostles. During the persecution under Marcus Aurelius, Irenæus came to Gaul, and he succeeded Pothinus, the martyred Bishop of Lyons, A.D. 178. He himself suffered martyrdom, with many others, A.D. 202, during the persecution under Septimus Severus. His great work "*Against the Heresies*," in five books, has been preserved in a barbarously literal Latin version—the great *antiquity* of which is proved by the fact that it was used by Tertullian (*vide* Massuet, *Dissert. in Op. S. Irenæi*); and its extreme *fidelity*, by comparing it with the portions of the Greek text that have been preserved, as well as with the fragments quoted by St. Hippolytus, Eusebius, St. Epiphanius, St. John Damascene, and others. The best editions of his works are those of Massuet (Benedictine, Paris, 1712, and Venice, 1734), and Stieren (Lipsiæ, 1853, 2 vols. 8vo), which have been reprinted by Migne (*Patr. Græc.* vol. vii.), with new critical notes,

¹ An Armenian version was published by Petermann in 1849, the same year in which Cureton published his *Corpus Ignatianum*, and was, therefore, unknown to the last-named editor.

² See Bishop LIGHTFOOT's art. in *Contemporary Review*, Jan. 1875, p. 347, note.

and the three valuable *Dissertations* of Massuet regarding the life, writings, and doctrine of St. Irenæus. For a full elucidation of the celebrated passage in Lib. iii. c. 3, the reader must be referred to Schneemann's *S. Irenæi de Eccles. Rom. Principatu Test. Comment. et Defens.*, Friburg, 1870; or to Bishop Freppel's *St. Irénée et la Primauté du Pape*, 1870, reprinted from his larger work, *St. Irénée*, Paris, 1861.

James of Nisibis (ST.), Bishop of Nisibis, in Mesopotamia, was illustrious in the annals of the Church of Syria, which venerated him as one of her greatest doctors. He was present at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325. His sermons, which were commended by St. Athanasius (*Epist. Encycl. ad Episc. Egypt. et Lyb.*), and of which Gennadius gives the titles, were published entire (the Armenian text) at Rome in 1766, with a Latin translation by Nicholas Antonelli.

Jerome (ST.), a profound biblical scholar, and author of the translation of the whole Bible known as the *Latin Vulgate*, was born at Stridon, in Dalmatia, cir. A.D. 340. His youth was passed at Rome, where he studied almost every branch of learning, especially rhetoric, Hebrew, and theology. After leading for four years a solitary life in the deserts of Syria, he went to Antioch, and was ordained priest A.D. 377. In 381 he went to Constantinople, and from thence passed to Rome, where he became the friend and secretary of Pope Damasus. After the death of Damasus, Jerome quitted Rome (A.D. 385), and retired to the Holy Land, where he superintended several monasteries until his death at Bethlehem in 420. Besides his translation of the Scriptures (of which, according to Hain, in his *Repertorium Bibliographicum*, ninety-eight distinct editions were printed between the year 1460 and the close of the fifteenth century), his entire works were published by Erasmus (Basle, ap. Froben, 1516, *seq.*, in 9 vols. fol.), and at Rome (9 vols. fol.) in 1565. The Benedictine edition (Pouget and Martianay) appeared in 1693–1706, in 5 vols. fol. The best edition was that of Vallarsius (Verona, 1734, in 12 vols. fol.) Migne's edition is reprinted from the two last named, in 9 vols. roy. 8vo (*Pat. Lat.* vols. xxii.–xxx.)

Julius (ST. and POPE), succeeded Marcus A.D. 337, and died in 352. His Epistle to the Eusebians is published with others by Coustant, Gallandi, and Migne, and with the works of St. Athanasius.

Juvencus, a Christian poet of the fourth century, translated portions of the Scripture into Latin verse; but only his *Book on Genesis* and *Gospel History* (four books) are extant. Galland. Tom. iv., and Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* vol. xix.

Leo I. (ST. and POPE), succeeded Sixtus III. A.D. 440, and died in 461. It was this great Pontiff who, by his confidence in God, and noble and courageous conduct, saved Rome from being pillaged by the Huns under "the scourge of God," Attila, A.D. 452; and again, in 455, he saved the city from destruction by the awe which he inspired in the fierce Gesneric, king of the Vandals. "The Pontificate of Leo the Great," says the Protestant MILMAN, "is one of the epochs of Latin, or rather of universal,

Christianity. Christendom, wherever mindful of its divine origin, and of its proper humanising and hallowing influence, might turn away in shame from the melancholy and disgraceful (religious) contests in the East. On the throne of Rome alone, of all the greater Sees, did religion maintain its majesty, its sanctity, its piety; and if it demanded undue deference, the world would not be rigidly inclined to question pretensions supported as well by such conscious power as by such singular and unimpeachable virtue, and by such inestimable benefits conferred on Rome, on the empire, on civilisation. . . . Supremacy, held by so firm and vigorous a hand as that of Leo, might seem almost necessary to Christendom" (*Hist. of Latin Christ.*, Book ii. ch. 4). During the Pontificate of St. LEO, and with his consent (*Epist.* 114, ed. Baller.), the General Council of Chalcedon was convoked by the Emperor Marcian, and it was the Pope's famous Epistle to Flavian, Patriarch of Constantinople, that elicited from the assembled Fathers the exclamation, "*Peter hath spoken by the mouth of Leo.*" The best edition of his works is that of the brothers Ballerini (1753, in 3 vols. fol.) They are also published by Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vols. liv.–lvi.), and his *Epistolæ Selectæ* and *Sermones Selecti* by Hurter (*Patr. Opusc. Select.*, Œniponti, 1868–74, vols. xiv., xxv., xxvi.)

Macarius of Egypt (ST.), was born A.D. 300, and in 330 entered on a life of rigid monasticism, dying A.D. 399. Works published by Gallandi (Tom. viii.), and Migne (*Patr. Gr.* vol. xxxiv.)

Maximus of Turin (ST.), was celebrated in the fifth century as a Christian orator, and is called by Gennadius "vir divinis scripturis satis intentus, et ad docendum ex tempore plebem sufficiens" (*De Script. Eccl.* c. 40). He acted a prominent part in the Council of Milan, A.D. 451, and at the Council of Rome, A.D. 465. The best edition of his works is that of P. Brunnus (Rome, 1784), republished by Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vol. lvii.)

Maximus the Confessor (ST.), born at Constantinople, cir. A.D. 580. In 610 he became secretary of the Emperor Heraclius, but before the death of the latter he embraced a monastic life, and became abbot of the monastery at Chrysopolis near Constantinople. He afterwards became distinguished by his opposition to the Monothelite heresy, and by his disputation with Pyrrhus, the deposed Patriarch of Constantinople. About A.D. 649 he went to Rome and took part in the Lateran Council held by Pope Martin I., in which the Monothelite heresy and all its abettors were anathematised—a proceeding which so exasperated the Emperor Constans II. that he ordered the Pope and Maximus, with several other Bishops, to be sent as prisoners to Constantinople (A.D. 654). The Pope, after being treated with great severity, died in exile the following year; and Maximus, after being subjected to frightful tortures, was sent a second time into banishment into the Caucasus, where he died from the effects of his sufferings A.D. 662. Works published by Combefis (*S. Max. Op.* 2 vols. fol. Paris, 1675), and Migne (*Patr. Gr.* Tom. xc.)

Nilus (ST.), a disciple of St. Chrysostom, flourished during the reigns of the Emperors Arcadius and Theodosius, and died cir. A.D. 450. His letters were published by Allatius (Rome, 1668), and his treatises by Suarez (Rome, 1673). Republished in Migne (*Patr. Lat.* Tom. lxxix.)

Optatus (ST.), Bishop of Milevis, in Africa, wrote his treatise *De Schism. Donat. cont. Parmenian.* between A.D. 372 and 375 (Hieron., *De Vir. Illust.* c. 121), and lived to see the accession of Pope Siricius (whose name he added to the list of Popes given in Lib. ii. c. 3) in A.D. 384. St. Jerome speaks of his treatise as containing *six* books; but the most ancient MSS. and editions contain a seventh, which was originally, it is supposed, regarded as an appendix, or added by the author when he revised his work (Dupin, *Præf. ad Op.* § 2; Fessler., *Inst. Patr.* vol. ii. § 255). St. Augustine (*De Doctr. Christ.* ii. 40; *Cont. Epist. Parmenian.*, Lib. i. c. 3) reckons Optatus amongst the most renowned doctors of the Church. The earlier editions of his treatise were very inaccurate, according to Dupin, who, after collating many MSS., published his own highly esteemed edition at Paris (in 1700), Amstelod (1701), and Antwerp (1702). This edition has been republished with select notes by Oberthur (Winceb. 1790, 2 vols.), Gallandi (Tom. v.), Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vol. xi.), and Hurter (*Patr. Opusc.* vol. x.)

Origen, born at Alexandria cir. A.D. 185. His instructors in theology were Pantænus and Clement of Alexandria; and in the year 203 he became head of the Catechetical School in that city. During the Pontificate of Zephyrinus, cir. A.D. 211, Origen went to Rome—*εὐξάμενος τὴν ἀρχαιοτάτην Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν ἰδεῖν* (Euseb., *Hist. Ecc.* vi. 14); but returning to Alexandria at the desire of his Bishop, Demetrius, he there wrote many of his great works on the Scriptures. He was subsequently sent by Demetrius into Achaia, and during his stay, at Cæsarea in Palestine he was ordained priest, A.D. 228. He returned to Alexandria A.D. 230, and was treated with severity by his Bishop on account of the irregularity of his ordination and some heretical doctrines attributed to him, for which also he was condemned by two Synods. He died at Tyre in 254. The best edition of his works, some of which are only preserved in the Latin versions of St. Jerome and Rufinus, is the Benedictine (Delarue, Paris, 1743, in 4 vols. fol.) republished by Oberthur (*Collect. PP. Græc.* vols. vii.–xxi.), and Migne (*Patrol. Græc.* vols. xi.–xvii.)

Pacian (ST.), was Bishop of Barcelona from A.D. 370 to 391. His works are in Galland. (Tom. v.) and Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vol. xi.)

Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis, and described by St. Irenæus as “a hearer of John and a companion of Polycarp” (*Adv. Hær.* v. 33), was the author of a work entitled “*Exposition of the Oracles of the Lord*,” in five books, of which a few fragments are preserved by Irenæus and Eusebius. Two learned articles on Papias by Dr. Lightfoot appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, Aug. and Oct. 1875. “Irenæus quotes him with the highest respect, as an orthodox writer and a trustworthy channel of apostolic tradition” (*Contemp. Rev.* Aug. 1875, p. 386). Anastasius of

Sinai calls him "the great," "the illustrious" (*Ib.*) In his *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 36, Eusebius calls him "a man well skilled in all kinds of learning, and well acquainted with the Scriptures," but elsewhere speaks of his having entertained certain fabulous notions on the subject of the Millennium.

Paulinus, a deacon of Milan, wrote cir. A.D. 418. Galland. (Tom. ix.)

Paulus Orosius, a priest of Bracara in Spain, and a disciple of SS. Jerome and Augustine. Writings in Galland. (Tom. ix.) and Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vol. xxxi.)

Peter of Alexandria (ST.), succeeded Theonas in the episcopate of Alexandria A.D. 299, and was martyred A.D. 311. Eusebius speaks of him in the highest terms (*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. vii. c. 32; Lib. viii. c. 13; Lib. ix. c. 6). His *Penitential Canons*, with reference to those who had lapsed during the persecution, were written A.D. 306.

Proclus (ST.), a disciple of St. Chrysostom, became Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 434, and was a zealous opponent of the Nestorian heresy. He died in 447. His letters and homilies were published by Riccardi (Rome, 1630), Combefis (*Auctuar.* Tom. i.), Gallandi (Tom. xix.), Migne (*Patr. Gr.* vol. lxxv.)

Prosper of Aquitaine (ST.), a zealous disciple of St. Augustine, and opponent of the Pelagian heresy, flourished cir. A.D. 428. He died in 445. The best edition of his works is that of Paris (in fol., 1671 and 1711), republished by Mangeant (Venice, 1744 and 1782), and Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vol. li.)

Prudentius, a Christian poet, was born at Saragossa, in Spain, A.D. 348, and died cir. A.D. 413. The latest editions of his poems are those of Dressel (Lipsiæ, 1860), and Migne (*Patr. Lat.*, vols. lix., lx.)

Simplicius (ST. and POPE), sat from A.D. 468 to 483. His Epistles are in the Collections of the Councils, &c.

Siricius (ST. and POPE), succeeded Damasus A.D. 384, and died in 398. Epistles in Galland. (Tom. vii.), after Coustant, and in the Collections of the Councils, &c.

Socrates, a Greek ecclesiastical historian, was born in Constantinople cir. A.D. 380. His history, which is for the most part a continuation of Eusebius, ends with the year 439.

Sozomen, another Greek ecclesiastical historian of the fifth century, was a native of Palestine, from whence he passed to Constantinople. His history, with that of Socrates, was published by Valesius (Paris, 1686), Reading (Cambridge, 1720), and Migne (*Patr. Græc.* vol. lxii.); and English translations of both are published in Bohn's *Ecclesiastical Library*.

Tertullian, the son of a proconsular centurion, was born at Carthage, cir. A.D. 150, and brought up for the profession of a Roman advocate. He embraced Christianity cir. A.D. 185, was ordained priest cir. A.D. 192, became a Montanist cir. A.D. 199, and died cir. A.D. 220. His works, many of which are extant, are highly prized, since even those which were

written after he had fallen into heresy bear important testimony regarding the faith, practice, and discipline of the Church in his time. Of his style, which is extremely terse and vigorous, St. Vincent of Lerins said :—"Who can express the praises which he deserves, . . . whose so many words almost are so many sentences, whose so many senses so many victories. This knew Marcion, Apelles, Praxeas, and Hermogenes, Jews, Gentiles, Gnostics, and many others, whose blasphemous opinions he hath overthrown with his many and great volumes, as it had been with thunderbolts," (*Commonit.* c. 18). His treatise on *Prescription against Heretics* was one of the works written whilst he was a Catholic. The best editions of his works are those of Pamelius (fol. Antw. 1579 and 1597), Rigaltius (fol. Lutet. 1634, and Venet. 1744), Semler and Schulz (6 vols. Hal. 1770), and Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vols. iv., v.) Excellent English translations of all his works are published in the Oxford *Library of the Fathers*, and in Clarke's *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*.

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, in Palestine, was born at Antioch cir. A.D. 393 and died cir. A.D. 458. He was charged with sympathising with the heretical Patriarch Nestorius, but justified himself before the Council of Chalcedon by anathematising Nestorius and his doctrines. Works published by Schulze (Hallæ, 1769, in 5 vols. 8vo), Migne (*Patr. Græc.* vols. lxxx.-lxxxiv.)

Theodore Studites, became Abbot of the famous monastery in Constantinople called the Studion A.D. 798. The Protestant Neander highly commends "the inflexibility and steadfastness of his zeal, under persecutions and sufferings, in maintaining the sacred laws" against the tyrannical Emperors Constantine Copronymus and Nicephorus (*Church Hist.* Bohn's ed. vol. vi. pp. 269-278). Works published by Sirmond (Paris, 1696), Migne (*Patr. Gr.* vol. xcix.)

Victorinus, Bishop of Pettaw, on the Drave, in Styria, flourished cir. A.D. 270-290, and suffered martyrdom during the Dioclesian persecution, A.D. 303. The *Poem against Marcion*, in five books, ascribed to TERTULLIAN by Fabricius, Pamelius, and Bishop Bull (See Lardner's *Credibility*, &c., vol. iii.), is more commonly attributed to Victorinus. It is generally published with the works of Tertullian.

Victorinus, surnamed **Afer**, from the country of his birth, had a great reputation as a rhetorician at Rome in the middle of the fourth century. Several of his works, written after he had embraced Christianity, are extant. His Commentaries on some of St. Paul's Epistles were mentioned by St. Jerome, and were first published by MAI, in *Script. Vet. Nov. Collect.*, 4to, Rome, 1828.

Victor, Bishop of Vite, in Africa, who was exiled by the Arian king, Hunneric, wrote cir. A.D. 487 his *History of the Vandalic Persecution* (in five books), which is one of the principal sources of the history of the Vandals. Published in *Bibl. Max. Patr.* (Tom. viii.), Migne (*Patr. Lat.* vol. lxxviii.)

Zeno (St.), an African by birth, became eighth Bishop of Verona A.D.

362, and died cir. A.D. 383. The best edition of his writings is that of the brothers Ballerini (Verona, 1739), republished by Gallandi (Tom. v.), Migne (*Pat. Lat.* vol. xi.)

Zosimus (ST. and POPE), succeeded Innocent I. A.D. 417, and died the next year. Fourteen of his Epistles are published by Coustant (Tom. i. pp. 934-1006), Gallandi (ix. pp. 1-20), Mansi (*Concil.* Tom. iv.), Migne (*Patr. Lat.* Tom. xx.)

Africa, Three Councils of. The Epistle of the African Bishops was addressed to Pope Theodore, and read in the Lateran Synod under his successor, Martin I., A.D. 649.

Arles, Council of, held A.D. 314. All the provinces of the Roman Empire were represented.

Carthage and Milevis, Councils of, held A.D. 416. See Hefele's *Hist. of Church Councils*, Eng. trans. vol. ii. p. 455 *seq.*

Chalcedon, The Council of (FOURTH ŒCUMENICAL), was held A.D. 451, under the four Legates of Pope Leo I. About 600 Bishops were present, almost all of the Eastern Church. Regarding the 28th Canon of this Council (passed by a comparatively small number of Bishops, in the absence of the Papal Legates), see *note* to pp. 83, 84.

Constantinople, The First Council of (SECOND ŒCUMENICAL), held A.D. 381, was composed of 150 Eastern Bishops, and acquired the authority of an Œcumenical Synod by the Pope's subsequent acceptance and confirmation of its doctrinal definitions (its canonical enactments were not received by him). See Hefele's *Church Councils*, vol. ii. p. 371. The Fathers of this Council were reassembled at Constantinople in the following year.

Constantinople, The Third Council of (SIXTH ŒCUMENICAL), composed of 170 Eastern Bishops, was held A.D. 680, and its decisions were confirmed by the Legates of Pope Agatho.

Ephesus, The Council of (THIRD ŒCUMENICAL), was held A.D. 431, and presided over by St. Cyril of Alexandria (having plenary power from Pope Cœlestine) and the Papal Legates. About 200 Bishops were present.

Nicæa, The Second Council of (SEVENTH ŒCUMENICAL), was held A.D. 787, and attended by more than 300 Bishops. It was presided over by the Legates of Pope Hadrian I., and its decrees were confirmed by that Pontiff, who afterwards wrote to Charlemagne: "Synodum istam secundum nostram ordinationem fecerunt;" and again, "Et ideo ipsam suscepimus Synodum" (Hardouin, Tom. iv. pp. 818, 819).

Sardica, The Council of, was assembled A.D. 343, by the Emperors Constans and Constantius, at the desire of Pope Julius. About 97 orthodox Bishops were present; and St. Athanasius states that its canons were signed or agreed to by "more than 300 Bishops." See *Notes on the Councils* at the end of this work.

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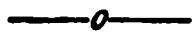
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PART I.

TITLES AND PREROGATIVES OF ST. PETER.

I.—ST. PETER THE ROCK OF THE CHURCH.

The Rock — The Rock of the Church — The Rock of the Faith — The Great Foundation of the Church, &c. (in reference to Matt. xvi. 18).

Tertullian, A.D. 195¹:—"Was anything hidden from **Peter**, who is called **the Rock whereon the Church was to be built?**" (Latuit aliquid Petrum, ædificandæ ecclesiæ petram dictum?—*De Præscript. Hæret.* c. 22. Op., ed. Leopold, Lipsiæ, 1841, P. iii. p. 14). "It was His pleasure to communicate to the dearest of His disciples, in a peculiar manner, a name drawn from the figures of Himself" (Carissimo discipulorum de figuris suis peculiariter nomen communicare.—*Adv. Marc.* Lib. iv. c. 13. Ib., p. 173). "I find, by the mention of his mother-in-law, **Peter** the only one (of the Apostles) married. I presume him a monogamist, by **the Church, which, built upon him**, was about to confer every grade of her order on monogamists" (Per ecclesiam, quæ super illum ædificata, &c.—*De Monogam.* c. 8. Ib., P. ii. p. 122). "'**Upon thee (Peter)**,' He says, '*I will build My Church; and to thee,*' not to the Church, '*will I give the Keys*'" (Super te, inquit, ædificabo ecclesiam meam.—*De Pudicit.* c. 21.² Ib., p. 177).

¹ The dates given in this work show when the various authors flourished or wrote, or the years in which Councils were held.

² The treatise *De Pudicitia* was written by TERTULLIAN after he had fallen into the Montanist heresy, and his tone throughout is bitterly hostile to the Pope (Zephyrinus) and to the Catholic Church, whose communion he had abandoned. He claims for Montanus, Prisca, and the other "new prophets," the power of forgiving sins, which he denies to the Pope and to "all the Church allied to Peter"

Origen, A.D. 216 :—" See what is said by the Lord to that great Foundation of the Church, and most solid Rock upon which Christ founded the Church,—‘ *O thou of little faith ! why didst thou doubt ?* ’ ” (Vide magno illi ecclesiæ fundamento, et petræ solidissimæ, super quam Christus fundavit ecclesiam, quid dicatur a Domino, &c.—*In Exod. Hom.* v. n. 4. Op., tom. ii. p. 145, ed. Delarue, Migne). “ Peter, upon whom the Church of Christ is built ” (Πέτρος δὲ, ἐφ’ ᾧ οἰκοδομεῖται ἡ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία.—*In Joann.* Tom. iv. p. 95 ; *et ap. Euseb. Hist. Ecclesiast.*, L. vi. c. 25). “ Peter, against whom the gates of hell shall not prevail ” (*De Princip.* L. iii. c. 2, n. 5. Comp. *Select. in Ps.* xxxviii. *Hom.* i. 10, Tom. ii. p. 695 ; *In Matt.* t. xiv. n. 5, Tom. iii. p. 620 ; *Schol. in Luc.* c. 9, Tom. vii. p. 341). “ Neither against ‘ the Rock,’ upon which Christ builds His Church, nor against the Church, shall the gates of hell prevail ” (οὔτε γὰρ τῆς πέτρας ἐφ’ ἧς ὁ Χριστὸς οἰκοδομεῖ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὔτε τῆς ἐκκλησίας πύλαι ἄδου κατισχύσουσιν.—*Com. in Matt.* t. xii. n. 11.¹ Tom. iii.) “ Upon him (Peter), as on the earth, the Church was founded ” (Petro, cum super ipsum, velut super terram, fundaretur ecclesia.—*In Epist. ad Rom.* Lib. v. c. 10, Tom. iv. p. 568).

St. Hippolytus, A.D. 225 :—" By this Spirit Peter uttered those blessed words,—‘ *Thou art Christ, the Son of the Living God.* ’ By this Spirit was the Rock of the Church consolidated ” (διὰ τούτου τοῦ

(omnem ecclesiam Petri propinquam). “ He denies,” says the Protestant Canon ROBERTSON, “ that *the Church* can remit deadly sin after baptism, but asserts the power of absolution for the prophets of his own sect ” (*Hist. of the Church*, B. i. ch. v. vol. i. p. 113, ed. 1875). “ He flatly denies,” says G. S. FABER, in his *Difficulties of Romanism*, “ that it can be construed as belonging to what then began to be esteemed as *Peter’s Church* ; ” and another Protestant writer (COLLETTE, *On the Supremacy*, p. 95) says that he charges the Pope with “ *usurping* ” a supreme power and authority in the Church “ *on the plea of being St. Peter’s successor.* ” It need hardly to be remarked that this very charge shows that the Pope had *claimed* succession from St. Peter, and supremacy, in virtue of that succession, over the whole Church. In this, as in many other instances, the practice and belief of the Church are shown by Tertullian’s attempt to oppose and controvert them ; so that his objections to the Pope’s claims, and his assertion “ that whatever privileges Peter may have received from Christ, it was a *personal* grant to him, and not in any way to be inherited by his successors ” (COLLETTE, p. 97), only serve to prove that the Pope had *claimed* to be his successor, and to “ inherit his privileges,” and that this claim was allowed and acknowledged by the Catholic Church, which Tertullian—as a Montanist—was attacking : in short, that the Pope’s exercise of his prerogatives, as St. Peter’s successor, was altogether in harmony with the belief and practice of orthodox Christians in those early times.

¹ In accordance with his customary mode of allegorising, and seeking a recondite meaning in the Scriptures, ORIGEN in the same commentary applies the word “ Rock ” to “ every faithful disciple.”

πνεύματος ἐστερεώθη ἡ πέτρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—*In S. Theophan.* n. 9. Galland. Tom. ii. p. 494). “**Peter, the Rock of the Faith,** whom Christ our Lord called blessed, the Teacher of the Church, the First Disciple, he who has the Keys of the Kingdom” (*De Fine Mundi et de Antichristo*, n. 9.¹ Ex Fabricio, Op. Hippol. Tom. ii.)

The Clementines, A.D. 230 :—“Simon, who, on account of the true faith and the most secure foundation of his doctrine, was **set apart to be the Foundation of the Church**; and who, on this very account, had his name, by the mouth of Jesus, which deceives not, changed into **Peter**” (Σίμων, ὁ διὰ τὴν ἀληθῆ πίστιν, καὶ τὴν ἀσφαλεστάτην αὐτοῦ τῆς διδασκαλίας ὑπόθεσιν, τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιος εἶναι ὀρισθείς, καὶ δι’ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ ἀψευδεῖ στόματι μετονομασθεὶς Πέτρος.—*Epist. Clement. ad Jacob.* Galland. Tom. ii. p. 611). “**Solid Rock and Foundation of the Church**” (*Hom. xvii.* n. 19. *Ib.*, p. 758).

St. Cyprian, A.D. 248 :—“**Peter**, whom the Lord chose as first, and **upon whom He built His Church**” (Petrus, quem primum Dominus elegit, et super quem ædificavit ecclesiam suam.—*Epist. lxxi. ad Quintum*, n. 3. Op. Genuina, ed. Goldhorn, Lipsiæ, 1838, P. i. p. 204). “There is one Church, **founded by the Lord Christ upon Peter, for the origin and purpose of unity**” (Una ecclesia a Christo Domino super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata.—*Epist. lxx. ad Januar.* *Ib.*, p. 202). “The Church which is one, and **founded upon one**, who also received the Keys thereof” (Quæ una est et super unum, qui et claves ejus accepit, Domini voce fundata est.—*Epist. lxxiii. ad Jubaian.* n. 11. *Ib.*, p. 213). “**On whom He built the Church**, and from whom He instituted and showed that unity should spring” (Super quem ædificavit ecclesiam, et unde unitatis originem instituit et ostendit.—*Ib.*, n. 7, p. 211). “**On whom the Church was founded**” (Petrus, super quem ecclesia Domini dignatione fundata est.—*De Bono Patientiæ*, n. 9. *Ib.*, P. ii. p. 246). “There (*John* vi. 67–69) speaks **Peter, upon whom the Church was to be built**, teaching and showing in the name of the Church” (Loquitur illic Petrus, super quem ædificanda fuerat ecclesia, ecclesiæ nomine docens et ostendens, &c.—*Epist. lxvi. ad Pupianum*, n. 8. *Ib.*, P. i. p. 178. In. ed. Baluz. *Epist. lxix.*)

¹ The treatise *Περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἀντιχρίστου* was published by Joannes Picus as a work of St. Hippolytus, but by Fabricius and other editors is placed among the dubious or spurious treatises. Dr. WORDSWORTH (*Introduct. to 2nd Epistle of St. Peter*, p. 77, *Greek Test.* vol. ii.) refers to the work as genuine, but in a note remarks that it is probably interpolated.

“**Peter, upon whom the Church had been built by the Lord**, one speaking for all, and answering in the voice of the Church, says,” &c. (Unus pro omnibus loquens, et ecclesiæ voce respondens.—*Epist. lix. ad Cornel.* n. 9. Ib., p. 138. In ed. Baluz. *Ep.* lv.) “There is one Church, and one Chair, **founded by the voice of the Lord upon a Rock**” (Una ecclesia, et cathedra una super petram Domini voce fundata.—*Epist. xliii. ad Plebem*, n. 3. Ib., p. 85. In ed. Baluz. *Ep.* xl.) See also *De Exhort. Martyr.* n. 11, and *De Habitu Virg.* n. 10.

Firmilian, A.D. 257,—writing to St. Cyprian in a hostile and violent manner against Pope Stephen, whom he accused of unduly favouring heretics by holding the validity of baptism conferred by them,—declares that he (Stephen) “abides not in the foundation of the one Church, which was once firmly established by Christ on a Rock;” and that, after “so boasting of the rank of his Episcopate, and contending that he holds the succession of **Peter, upon whom the foundations of the Church were laid**,” he would, by allowing the validity of heretical baptism, “bring in many other ‘*rocks*,’ and set up the buildings of many Churches,” &c. (Nec permanet in fundamento unius ecclesiæ, quæ semel a Christo super petram solidata est. . . . Qui sic de episcopatus sui loco gloriatur et se successionem Petri tenere condendit, super quem fundamenta ecclesiæ collocata sunt, multas alias petras inducat.—*Epist. ad Cyp., int. Cyp. Op. Ep.* lxxv., ed. Gold.)

Eusebius of Cæsarea, A.D. 314 :—“A truly blessed **Rock**, in which we too are placed” (Petrus, . . . vere beata Petra, in qua sumus et positi.—*In Matt.* x. 34. *Ex Sirmond.* Op. Tom. vi. p. 1176, ed. Migne). “**Peter, on whom the Church of Christ is built**, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail” (Πέτρος δὲ, ἐφ’ ᾧ οἰκοδομεῖται ἡ Χριστοῦ ἐκκλησία.—*Hist. Eccles.* L. vi. c. 25, Tom. ii. p. 26). “The sight (of Christ risen) made him a **most firm rock**, in such wise that both **the Church was built on him**, and he became a martyr of Christ” (Petrus . . . præco mundi effectus est. Visio enim eum firmissimam petram effecit, ita ut in eum et Ecclesia ædificaretur, et ipse martyr existeret Christi.—*De Oper. Bon. Ex Epist. ii. ad Corinth.* Tom. vi. p. 1195). *Comp. Demonst. Evang.* Lib. iii. c. 4, Tom. iv. p. 122.

Juvenius, A.D. 326 :—“Then the Lord thus answers to Peter, ‘*Thou shalt be blessed.*’ Thou supportest the name of **Peter** with worthy fortitude; and **upon this Foundation, and the strength of this Rock**, I will place My building that shall endure for ever with

everlasting walls" (Tu nomen Petri digna virtute tueris:—Hac in mole mihi saxique in robore ponam—Semper mansuras æternis mœnibus ædes.—*Hist. Evang. in Matt.* xvi. Lib. iii. Galland. Tom. iv. p. 618).

St. James of Nisibis, A.D. 340:—"Simon, who was called a **Rock**, was deservedly called a **Rock** because of his faith" (*Serm. i. de Fide*, n. 13. Ed. Romæ, 1756, p. 16. In *Galland*. Tom. v.) "Our Lord received him, and made him the **Foundation**, and called him the **Rock** of the edifice of the Church" (*Serm. vii. De Pœnitentia*, n. 6. Ed. Rom., p. 243. In *Galland*, p. 57). "Jesus called Simon the **Rock** of faith" (*Serm. xi. de Circumcis.* n. 12. Galland. p. 84).

St. Hilary of Poitiers, A.D. 356:—Peter, to whom He had before given 'the Keys of the kingdom of heaven;' upon whom He was about to build His Church: . . . Peter, the first confessor of the Son of God, the **Foundation of the Church**, the Door-keeper of the heavenly kingdom, and in his judgment on earth a judge of heaven" (Super quem ecclesiam ædificaturus erat, . . . primum Filii Dei confessorem, ecclesiæ fundamentum, cœlestis regni janitorem.—*Tract. in Ps.* cxxxi. n. 4. Op., Tom. i. pp. 502, 503, ed. Bened. Migne). "Peter's confession obtained a worthy recompense. . . . O, in thy designation by a new name, happy **Foundation of the Church**, and **Rock** worthy of the building up of that which was to dissolve the infernal laws, and the gates of hell, and all the bars of death" (O, in nuncupatione novi nominis, felix ecclesiæ fundamentum, dignaque illius ædificatione petra, quæ infernas leges, et tartari portas, et omnia mortis claustra dissolveret.—*Comment. in Matt.* xvi. Op., Tom. i. p. 750). "**The firm Rock upon which the Church was to be built**" (Firma superædificandæ in eâ ecclesiæ petra.—*In Ps.* cxli. n. 8. Ib., p. 603). "Blessed Simon, . . . underlying the building of the Church, and receiving the Keys of the kingdom of heaven" (Beatus Simon, ædificationi ecclesiæ subjacens, et claves regni cœlestis accipiens.—*De Trinit.* Lib. vi. c. 20, Tom. ii. p. 147).

St. Zeno, A.D. 362:—"Not without reason did He impose the name of Peter on Simon, on whom He built His Church" (*Tract. xiii. de Circumcis.* n. 8. Galland. Tom. v. p. 127).

Victorinus, A.D. 370:—"In Peter was the foundation of the Church laid" (Si in Petro fundamentum ecclesiæ positum est, ut in Evangelio dictum, &c.—*Comment. in Galat.* i. 18. Maii *Script. Vet. Nov. Collect.* Tom. iii.)

St. Optatus of Milevis, A.D. 368 :—" **Peter, the Head of all the Apostles**, whence also he was called **Cephas**" (Omnium apostolorum caput Petrus, unde et Cephas appellatus est.—*De Schism. Donat.* Lib. iii. c. 2. Galland. Tom. v.) His meaning evidently is, that St. Peter was called a **Rock**, because he was to be the **Head** of all the Apostles.

St. Ephræm Syrus, A.D. 370 :—" **Peter**, who was called **Cephas**, and who received a testimony from the Great Pastor, that 'upon this **Rock** I will build **My Church**,' by means of the Priesthood received also 'the Keys of the Kingdom,' as worthy of them" (*De Sacerd.* Op., Tom. iii. *Græc.* p. 3, ed. Asseman.) "He that was to build **His Church upon Cephas**,¹ receives on Him stones" (*Serm.* xiii. *int. Serm. Syriac.*, Tom. ii. p. 434).

St. Gregory of Nyssa, A.D. 370 :—"The memory of **Peter**, the Head of all the Apostles, is celebrated; and glorified indeed with him are the other members of the Church; but the **Church of God** is firmly established on (him). For he is, in accordance with the prerogative bestowed upon him by the Lord, the unbroken and

¹ It may be well to remind the reader that, in the language in which our Lord spoke,—the SYRO-CHALDAIC, which the Jews had learned during the Babylonish Captivity, and preserved when they returned to their own country,—the same word stands for "PETER" and for "ROCK."

In the very ancient SYRIAC version of the New Testament called the **Peshito**,—assigned to the early part of the second century (see Westcott's *Bible in the Church*, p. 132), and which has been "in common use amongst the Syrians, Orthodox, Monophysite, or Nestorian, from the fifth century and onward" (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, Art. *Versions*),—the words in Matt. xvi. 18 are, "ANATH CHIPHA VEHAL HADA CHIPHA." The objection which some Protestant writers have raised, on account of the difference of gender in the Greek, cannot be sustained, since, as ALFORD remarks, "the name Πέτρος (not now first given, but prophetically bestowed by our Lord on his first interview with Simon, John i. 43), or Κηφας, signifies a *Rock*,—the termination being only altered to suit the masculine appellation" (Note *in loc.*) WEBSTER AND WILKINSON remark that "the distinction between Πέτρος (stone) and πέτρα (rock) is untenable, as no such distinction existed in the Aramæan dialect which our Lord used, and the language of which is best represented by the French version, in which the common and proper names are the same,—'que tu es Pierre, et que sur cette pierre je batisrai,' &c." (Note *in loc.*) So also BEZA, BENGEL, DODWELL, ROSENMÜLLER, KUINOEL, MICHAELIS (the remarks of these writers are given at length by PASSAGLIA, *De Prærog. S. Petri*, p. 402, seq.), WHITBY, HAMMOND, BLOOMFIELD, and many other Protestant commentators.

In his work entitled *Antiqua Ecclesiæ Syro-Chaldaicæ Traditio circa Petri Apostoli ejusdemque Successorum Divinum Primatum* (Romæ, 1870, Bp. JOSEPH DAVID, the Suffragan Bp. of Mossul (Nineveh), has collected a large number of passages from the Liturgical and other monuments of the ancient **Syro-Chaldaic Church**, which show very clearly how the words in *Matt.* xvi. 18

most firm Rock upon which the Lord built His Church" (Πέτρος ἡ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, . . . Οὗτος γάρ ἐστι κατὰ τὴν δοθείσαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου δωρεὰν ἡ ἀρραγὴς καὶ ὀχυρωτάτη πέτρα, ἐφ' ἣν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὁ Σωτὴρ ᾠκοδόμησε.—*Alt. Orat. de S. Stephan.* Op., Tom. iii. p. 734, ed. Morell., *Migne*). "By means of the change of his name, he is transformed into something more divine, instead of Simon being both called and having become a Rock" (Διὰ τῆς τοῦ ὀνομάτος ὑπαλλαγῆς μεταποιεῖται παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου πρὸς τὸ θεϊότερον ἀντὶ Σίμωνος Πέτρος καὶ ὀνομασθεὶς καὶ γενόμενος.—*Hom. xv. in Cant. Cantic.* Tom. i. p. 1088, *Migne*).

St. Gregory of Nazianzum, A.D. 370 :—"Seest thou that of the disciples of Christ, all of whom were great and deserving of the choice, one is called a Rock, and is entrusted with the foundation of the Church" (Ὁ μὲν πέτρα καλεῖται, καὶ τοὺς θεμελίους τῆς ἐκκλησίας πιστεύεται.—*Orat. xxxii. n. 18.* Op., Tom. ii. p. 591, ed. Bened. *Migne*). "Peter, that unbroken Rock, who had the Keys delivered unto him" (Πέτρης ἀρραγέος γενέτης κληῖδα λαχόντος.

had been understood by that Church from the very age of the Apostles. The following may be taken as specimens :—"Jesus in the Gospel said to Peter, THOU ART THE ROCK UPON WHICH MY CHURCH SHALL BE BUILT" (Syro-Chaldean Liturgy, *In Off. Apost. Pet. et Paul., in 2^o Noct.* Cod. xli. inter novos S. Congr. de Prop. Fide Codices). "Blessed art thou, Simon, dispenser of the divine treasure, who holdest the Keys of the Kingdom, ON WHOM THE BUILDING OF THE HOLY CHURCH IS PLACED. THOU ART THE ROCK (KIPHO) OF FIRMNESS, WHICH THE LORD HAS PLACED IN THE FOUNDATION OF HIS CHURCHES, that those who work in thy ministry may build up a true confession of faith free from all doubt" (*In ejusd. Off. Noct. i. Ib., p. 348*). "Sing, O holy Church, praises in commemoration of PETER, HEAD OF THE APOSTLES, UPON WHOSE FAITH CHRIST HATH ESTABLISHED THY FOUNDATIONS, and whom He constituted Head of His own Flock; by whom also He hath opened to them the door of His heavenly treasures, and hath enriched thy children with His gifts" (*In 7^o Kalo ejusd. Off. Ib., p. 376*). In the ancient **Syriac** Liturgy we read :—"UPON SIMON PETER THE LORD BUILT HIS CHURCH" (Ed. Romæ, 1853, p. 363). The Church says :—"Upon that rock of the household of Simon, Prince of the Apostles, I am built up, and have nothing to fear." (*In horâ 1^{ma} Sabbati. Ib., p. 409*). "To Simon His Lord said, THOU ART THE ROCK OF STRENGTH, AND UPON THEE WILL I FOUND MY CHURCH" (*In Fest. Apost. Pet. et Paul., Noct. ii. Cod. lxiv. p. 141*). "The greatest blessing was given by our Saviour to Peter, Prince of the Apostles, WHOM HE CONSTITUTED FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH, and to whom He said, 'Feed My lambs and My sheep'" (*In Off. Feriæ viæ Auri, quæ est 1^{ma} post Pentecost. Cod. lxiv. p. 110*). "Blessed art thou, O Church, since thy Keys were delivered to thee by SIMON, WHO IS THE ROCK AND THE FOUNDATION" (*In Off. 2^a domin. Dedic. Eccles., Noct. ii. Cod. lxi. p. 61*). The original Syriac or Syro-Chaldaic text of the passages is given in the Appendix to Bp. DAVID's work.

—*Carminum* Sect. ii. *Poëm. Moral.* n. 1, vers. 489, Tom. ii. p. 325). Comp. *Poëm. de Seipso*, vers. 222, Tom. iii.; and *Orat.* ix., *Apol. ad Patr.* n. 1, Tom. i. p. 235.

St. Basil the Great, A.D. 370 :—"Peter, upon which Rock the Lord promised to build His Church" (*Ὁ Πέτρος, ἐφ' ἧς καὶ πέτρας ἐπηγγείλατο ὁ Κύριος οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.*—*Comment in Isai.* ii. n. 66. Op., Tom. ii. p. 427, ed. Bened. Migne). "Who, on account of the pre-eminence of his faith, received on himself the building of the Church" (*τὸν διὰ πίστεως ὑπεροχὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τῆς ἐκκλησίας δεξάμενον.*—*Adv. Eunom.* Lib. ii. n. 4, Tom. i. p. 240). Comp. *De Pœnitent.* n. 4, Tom. iii. p. 606 :—*Πέτρος τρις ἀπαρνεῖται, καὶ κεῖται ἐν θεμελίῳ.*

St. Pacian, A.D. 372 :—"The Lord spoke to one (Peter), that thus He might lay the foundation of unity from one" (*Ad unum ideo ut unitatem fundaret ex uno.*—*Epist.* iii. n. 11. Galland. Tom. vii. p. 264).

St. Epiphanius, A.D. 385 :—"The First of the Apostles, that firm Rock upon which the Church of God is built, and 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' But the *gates of hell* are heresies and heresiarchs" (*Ἔδει τὸν πρῶτον τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὴν πέτραν τὴν στερεὰν, ἐφ' ἣν ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ὠκοδόμηται. . . . Πύλαι δὲ ἄδου αἱ αἵρέσεις καὶ οἱ αἵρεσιάρχαι.*—*Anchorat.* n. 9. Op., Tom. ii. p. 14, ed. Petavii, Colon., 1682). "Peter, who was the very Chief of the Apostles, who became unto us truly a firm Rock, founding the faith of the Lord, upon which the Church was in every way built; first, in that he confessed that Christ was the Son of the living God, and heard that '*upon this rock*' of firm faith '*I will build My Church.*' . . . Further, he then also became a firm Rock of the building, and Foundation of the house of God" (*κορυφαιότατος τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὃς γέγονεν ἡμῖν ἀληθῶς στερεὰ πέτρα, θεμελιούσα τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Κυρίου, ἐφ' ἣ ὠκοδόμητο ἡ ἐκκλησία κατὰ πάντα τρόπον. . . . Ἐνταῦθα στερεὰ πέτρα οἰκοδομῆς, καὶ θεμέλιος οἴκου Θεοῦ.*—*Adv. Hær.* 59, n. 7, 8, Tom. i. p. 500).

St. Ambrose, A.D. 385 :—"Was He not able to confirm the faith of him to whom by His own authority He gave the Kingdom; whom He pointed out as the Foundation of the Church, when He called him the Rock?" (*Cui propriâ auctoritate regnum dabat, hujus fidem firmare non poterat; quem cum petram dixit, firmamentum ecclesiæ indicavit?*—*De Fide*, Lib. iv. c. 5, n. 56. Op., Tom. ii.

p. 531, ed. Bened. Migne). “It is that same **Peter** to whom He said, ‘*Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church.*’ Therefore, **where Peter is, there is the Church**” (Ipse est Petrus cui dixit *Tu es Petrus*. . . . Ubi ergo Petrus, ibi ecclesia; ubi ecclesia ibi nulla mors, sed vita æterna.—*In Ps. xl. n. 30, Tom. i. p. 879*). “Peter’s ship, which is the Church. . . . That ship is not tossed about in which prudence sails, where unbelief is not, where faith blows. . . . For how could that be tossed about in which he presided, **in whom is the foundation of the Church?**” (Ad navem Petri, hoc est ad ecclesiam. . . . Cui præerat is, in quo ecclesiæ firmamentum est.—*In Lucam, Lib. iv. n. 70, 77, Tom. i. p. 1353–54*). “**In whom was the support of the Church**” (In quo esset ecclesiæ firmamentum et magisterium disciplinæ.—*De Virginit. c. 16, n. 105, Tom. ii. p. 238*). “**The Rock of the Church**” (Petra Ecclesiæ.—*Hymn. S. Ambros. ap. August. Retract. Lib. i. c. 21, Tom. iii.*) “This is that **Peter** who answers for the rest, yea, as above the rest (imo præ cæteris), and therefore is he **called the Foundation**, because he knows how not only to sustain his own but also what is common to all . . . (His) faith, therefore, is the Foundation of the Church, for **not of the flesh of Peter, but of his faith**, was it said that ‘*the gates of hell shall not prevail against it*’” (Fundamentum dicitur quia novit non solum proprium, sed etiam commune servare, &c.—*De Incarnat. c. 4, n. 33; c. 5, n. 34. p. 711*). “**The Foundation of the Church**” (*De Spiritu Sancto, c. 13, n. 158*).

St. Asterius, A.D. 387:—“The Only-begotten **denominates Peter the Foundation of the Church**. ‘*Thou art Peter,*’ &c. . . . ‘*Other foundation can no man lay but that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.*’ But with a like appellation (to His own) did our Saviour adorn also that first disciple of His, denominating him a **Rock of the faith**. Through **Peter**, therefore, the stability of the Church is preserved incapable of fall and unswerving. . . . God, who by His servants shows His own power, has enriched no one amongst the disciples with His own gifts like Peter; yea, that He has placed him above all, having exalted him with gifts from on high. . . . Peter went not away unrequited and unrewarded (after his confession); but, declared ‘*blessed*’ by the Truly Blessed, he is called **the Rock of faith, and the Foundation and Substructure of the Church of God**. He receives, too, by promise the Keys of the Kingdom, and becomes the lord of the gates thereof,” &c. (Θεμέλιον τὸν Πέτρον ὀνομάζει τῆς ἐκκλησίας Σὺ εἶ Πέτρος. . . . Τῇ ὁμοίᾳ δὲ κλήσει ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν καὶ τὸν πρῶτον αὐτοῦ μαθητὴν

κατεκόσμησε, πέτραν ὀνομάσας τῆς πίστεως. Διὰ Πέτρον τοίνυν ἄπτωτον καὶ ἀκλινὲς τὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἔδρασμα σώζεται. . . . Πέτρα καλεῖται τῆς πίστεως, καὶ θεμέλιος καὶ ὑποβάθρα τῆς κατὰ Θεὸν ἐκκλησίας.—*Hom. viii. in SS. Pet. et Paul.* Combefis, *Nov. Auct. Patr.*, Paris, 1648, Tom. i. p. 127, seq. Migne, *Patr. Græc.* Tom. xl. pp. 268, 280).

St. Chrysostom, A.D. 387 :—"Peter, the Head of the Apostles, the First in the Church, . . . and when I name Peter, I name **that unbroken Rock, that firm Foundation**, the Great Apostle, the First of the disciples," &c. (ἡ κορυφὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ. . . . Πέτρον δὲ ὅταν εἶπω, τὴν πέτραν λέγω τὴν ἀρρύαγῃ, τὴν κρηπίδα τὴν ἀσάλευτον, τὸν ἀπόστολον τὸν μέγαν, τὸν πρῶτον τῶν μαθητῶν.—*Hom. iv. de Pœnitent.* n. 4. Op., Tom. ii. p. 300, ed. Bened.) "Peter, that Leader of the choir, that Mouth of the rest of the Apostles, that Head of the brotherhood, that Ruler of the whole world, **that Foundation of the Church**" (Ὁ οὖν Πέτρος, ὁ κορυφαῖος τοῦ χοροῦ, τὸ στόμα τῶν ἀποστόλων ἀπάντων, ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς φρατρίας ἐκείνης, ὁ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἀπάσης προστάτης, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—*Hom. in illud, Hoc Scitote*, n. 4, Tom. vi. p. 282). "The First of the Apostles, **the Foundation of the Church**, the Leader of the choir of the disciples" (τὸν πρῶτον τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὴν κρηπίδα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὸν κορυφαῖον τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν μαθητῶν.—*Ad eos qui scandalizati sunt*, n. 17, Tom. iii. p. 504). "**The Foundation of the Church**" (Ὁ Πέτρος ἡ κρηπὶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας.—*In illud, Vidi Dom.* *Hom. iv. n. 3*). "The Pillar of the Church, the Buttress of the Faith, **the Foundation of the Confession**, the Fisherman of the universe" (Πέτρος ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων κορυφαῖος, . . . ὁ στύλος τῆς ἐκκλησίας, τὸ στερέωμα τῆς πίστεως, ὁ τοῦ ὁμολογίας θεμέλιος.—*Hom. de Dec. Mil. Talent.* n. 3, Tom. iii. p. 4). "And I say to thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church"—that is, **on the faith of the confession**. Hereby He signifies that many were now about to believe, and He raises his (Peter's) thoughts, and makes him the Pastor. . . . Then He mentions also another honour: 'And to thee will I give the Keys of the Kingdom of heaven.' What means, 'I will give to thee'? . . . You perceive how He leads Peter to a sublime idea of Himself, and reveals and shows Himself to be the Son of God by these two promises. For those things which are peculiar to God alone—to remit sins, and to make the Church incapable of overthrow in so

great an assault of waves, and to exhibit a fisherman more solid than any rock, when the whole world is battling—these things He promises Himself to give, as the Father also said to Jeremias: ‘*I have made thee a pillar of iron and a wall of brass*’ (*Jer.* i. 18); but him to one nation, this man (Peter) in every part of the world” (*καὶ ἄνθρωπον ἀλιέα πέτρης πάσης ἀποφῆναι στερρότερον, τῆς οἰκουμένης πολεμούσης ἀπάσης, ταῦτα αὐτὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται δώσειν καθάπερ ὁ Πατὴρ πρὸς τὸν Ἱερεμίαν διαλεγόμενος ἔλεγεν, . . . ἀλλ’ ἐκείνον μὲν ἐν ἔθνει, τοῦτον δὲ πανταχοῦ τῆς οἰκουμένης.*—*Hom.* liv. n. 2, *Tom.* vii. p. 548). See also *Hom.* iii. in *Matt.* n. 5; *Hom.* xix. in *Joann.* n. 2.

St. Jerome, A.D. 390:—“Peter, upon whom the Lord founded the Church” (*Petrus, super quem Dominus fundavit ecclesiam.*—*Epist.* xli. *ad Marcellam.* Op., *Tom.* i. p. 188, ed. Bened. Migne). “Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, upon whom the Church was founded in stable massiveness” (*Super quem ecclesia Domini stabili mole fundata est.*—*Dial. adv. Pelagian.* Lib. i. n. 14, *Tom.* ii. p. 707). “As Christ Himself gave light to the Apostles, that they might be called ‘*the light of the world,*’ and as they obtained other names from the Lord; so to Simon also, who believed on the Rock Christ, He bestowed the name of Peter; and, according to the metaphor of a rock, it is rightly said of him, ‘I will build My Church upon thee.’ The ‘*gates of hell*’ are vices and sins, or certainly the doctrines of heretics, by which men enticed are led to hell” (*Simoni, qui credebat in petram Christum, Petri largitus est nomen, ac secundum metaphoram petræ, recte dicitur ei, ædificabo ecclesiam meam super te.*—*In Matt.* xvi. *Tom.* vii. p. 124). On the words, “*Get behind Me, Satan,*” he says:—“Let the prudent reader consider that the blessing, and the power, and the building of the Church upon him, were a promise for the future, and not given at that present time. ‘*I will build,*’ He says, ‘*My Church upon thee, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.*’ And, ‘*I will give to thee the Keys of the Kingdom of heaven.*’ All these regard the future, which, had they been given to him at once, never would the error of false opinion have found place in him” (*In Matt.* L. iii. c. 17. *Ib.*, p. 127). “Upon this Rock (the See of Peter) I know that the Church is founded” (*Super illam Petram ædificatam ecclesiam scio.*—*Epist.* xv. *ad Pap. Damas.* *Tom.* i. p. 39).

St. Augustine, A.D. 400:—“Peter, who had confessed Him the Son of God, and in that confession had been called the Rock upon which the Church should be built” (*Petrus, qui paulo ante*

eum confessus est Filium Dei, et in illa confessione appellatus est petra, super quam fabricaretur ecclesia.—*In Ps. lxxix. n. 4. Op., Tom. iv. p. 869, ed. Bened. Migne*). “Number the Bishops from **the See itself of Peter**, and in that order of Fathers see who succeeded to whom : **this is the Rock¹ which the proud gates of hell overcome not**” (*Ipsa est Petra quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ.—Ps. in Part. Donat. Tom. ix. p. 30*). *Comp. Epist. liii. Generoso, n. 2.*

Victor of Antioch, A.D. 405 :—“To Simon He gave the name of **Peter**, that the name may anticipate the event itself; because as Christ the Lord was about to **build His Church on Peter**—that is, on the unbroken and sound doctrine of Peter and his unshaken faith; therefore in prophetic spirit does He call him Peter” (*Quia enim Christus Dominus supra Petram, hoc est, super infractam, sanamque Petri doctrinam inconcussamque ejusdem fidem, ecclesiam suam ædificaturus erat, ob id prophetico spiritu Petrum illum appellat.—In Evang. Marc. c. 3. Bibl. Max. PP. Tom. iv. p. 377*).

Paulus Orosius, A.D. 419 :—“**Peter, upon which Rock Christ built His Church**” (*O Petre, super quam petram Christus suam fundavit ecclesiam.—De Lib. Arbit. n. 27. Galland. Tom. ix. p. 166*). “**Constituted the Rock of the foundation of the Church**” (*Ib., n. 23, p. 165*).

St. Boniface, Pope, A.D. 419 :—“There remains on the Apostle **Peter** the solicitude of the universal Church, received by him from the Lord’s sentence; for he knows, the Gospel so testifying, that it is **founded on himself. . . . In whom it is certain that the universal Church is founded**” (*Manet beatum apostolum Petrum per sententiam dominicam universalis ecclesiæ ab hoc sollicitudo suscepta; quippe quam, Evangelio teste, in se noverit esse fundatam. . . . In quo ecclesiam universalem certum est esse fundatam.—Epist. xv. n. 1, 4. Galland. Tom. ix. p. 58, 59*).

St. Maximus of Turin, A.D. 424 :—“**Peter, . . . the Rock of the Churches, . . . as an immovable rock, holds together the framework and the mass of the whole structure of Christianity.** Peter, therefore, for devotion is called **the Rock**, and the Lord by

¹ Owing to his ignorance of Hebrew, or of Syro-Chaldaic, the language spoken by Christ (see preceding note), St. Augustine elsewhere proposes a different interpretation of the text; on which see PASSAGLIA, *De Prærog. S. Petri*, p. 412 seq.; WATERWORTH, *The Fathers on St. Peter*, pp. 48–50, note; KENRICK, *On the Primacy*, 4th ed. pp. 52–54; MURRAY, *De Ecclesia*, vol. iii. pp. 433–436.

power is named the Rock. . . . Rightly does he merit a fellowship of name who also merited a fellowship of work" (*Petra ecclesiarum, . . . tanquam saxum immobile totius operis Christiani compagem molemque contineat.*—*Hom. iv. de Petro Apost.* Bibl. Max. PP. Tom. vi. In Migne's edit., *Hom. liv. p. 353*). "This is **Peter**, whom Christ the Lord freely favoured with a communication of His own name; for as, according to what Paul teaches, '*The Rock was Christ,*' so through Christ Peter was made the Rock, the Lord saying to him, '*Thou art Peter,*'" &c. (*Hic est Petrus, cui Christus Dominus communionem sui nominis libenter indulsit; ut enim sicut Paulus Apostolus edocuit, Petra erat Christus; ita per Christum Petrus factus est petra, &c.*—*Hom. i. in Nat. App. Pet. et Paul.* In Migne's edit. *Hom. lxxviii. p. 394*).—See also *Hom. in Eod. Fest.* Galland. ix. p. 377; *Serm. xlii.*; *Serm. lxxii.*

St. Cyril of Alexandria, A.D. 424 :—"Allusively to the name from the rock, He changes his name to **Peter**; for on him He was about to found His Church" (*Φερωνύμως δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας μετωνόμαζε Πέτρον ἐπ' αὐτῷ γὰρ ἔμελλε τὴν αὐτοῦ θεμελιοῦν ἐκκλησίαν.*—*In Joann. i. 42.* Lib. ii. Op., ed. Aubert, Tom. vi. p. 131, *Migne*). "Calling, I think, '*the rock,*' the immoveableness in the faith of the disciple" (*In Isai. Lib. iv. Tom. iii. p. 593*). "Then He names another honour: '*Upon this rock,*' &c. Observe how He summarily manifests Himself Lord of heaven and earth; for . . . He promises to found the Church, assigning immoveableness to it, as He is the Lord of virtues, and over this He sets **Peter** as Shepherd" (*καὶ ταύτης ποιμένα τὸν Πέτρον ἐφίστησιν*). "Then He says, '*And I will give to thee the Keys of the kingdom of heaven.*' Neither angel nor any other intellectual power is able to utter this word" (*In Matt. c. 16, Tom. v. p. 54*).

Theodoret, A.D. 424 :—"The chief Foundation of the Church" (*τὸν πρῶτον τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεμέλιον.*—*Hæret. Fab. Lib. v. c. 28.* Op., ed. Scholz, Tom. iv. p. 478). "The Chief of the Apostles, whose confession He had fixed as a kind of groundwork and foundation of the Church" (*Epist. lxxvii. Tom. v. p. 1130*).

St. Prosper of Aquitaine, A.D. 430 :—"The most firm Rock, which, from that principal Rock, received a participation of His virtue and name" (*Hanc fortissimam petram, qui ab illâ principali Petrâ communionem et virtutis sumpsit et nominis.*—*De Vocat. Gent. c. 28.* Bibl. Max. PP. Tom. viii. p. 185).

St. Leo the Great, A.D. 440 :—" '*And I,*' He says, '*say to thee;*' that is, as My Father has made known to thee My divinity,

so also do I make known to thee thy eminence. ‘*For thou art Peter;*’ that is,—whereas I am the inviolable Rock; I the Cornerstone who made both one; I the Foundation besides which no one can lay other; yet thou also art a Rock, because thou art consolidated by My might, that what things are Mine alone by My power may be common to thee by participation with Me” (Tu quoque petra es, quia mea virtute consolidaris, ut quæ mihi potestate sunt propria, sint tibi mecum participatione communia.—*Serm. iv. in Natal. Ord. c. 2. ed. Ballerin.*) “The Lord willed that the mystery of His gift (of divine religion to all the world) should so belong to the office of all the Apostles, as to seat it chiefly in the most blessed Peter, highest of all the Apostles; and from him, as it were from the Head, He wills His gifts to flow as into the whole Body; that whoever dares to recede from the solidity of Peter, may know that he has no part in the divine mystery. For this man, assumed into the participation of His indivisible unity, He willed to be named what He Himself was, by saying, ‘*Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church;*’ that the rearing of the eternal temple, by the wonderful grace of the gift of God, might consist now in the solidity of Peter, strengthening with his firmness this Church, that neither the rashness of men might attempt it, nor the gates of hell prevail against it” (Sed hujus muneris sacramentum ita Dominus ad omnium Apostolorum officium pertinere voluit, ut in beatissimo Petro, Apostolorum omnium summo, principaliter collocaverit; et ab ipso quasi quodam capite, dona sua velit in corpus omne manare: ut exortem se mysterii intelligeret esse divini, qui ausus fuisset a Petri soliditate recedere. Hunc enim in consortium individuae unitatis assumptum, id quod ipse erat, voluit nominari, dicendo, *Tu es Petrus*, &c.; ut æterni templi ædificatio, mirabili munere gratiæ Dei, in Petri soliditate consisteret, &c.—*Epist. x. ad Epis. per Prov. Vienn. in causa Hilarii, c. 1.*) “The Rock of the Catholic faith, which name the blessed Apostle Peter received from the Lord” (Catholicæ fidei petra, cujus cognomen . . . sumpsit a Domino.—*Epist. cxix. n. 2, ad Maxim. ep. Antioch.*) “From the principal Rock Peter drew the solidity both of power and name” (A principali petra soliditatem et virtutis traxit et nominis.—*Epist. xxviii. ad Flavian.*) “By the loftiness of his faith he gave so much pleasure as to receive the sacred firmness of an inviolable rock, upon which the Church being founded, it should prevail over the gates of hell and the laws of death; and that, neither in loosing nor in binding, should anything be ratified in heaven but what it may

have settled by the decision of **Peter**" (*Serm. li. Hom. Sabbat. ante Secund. Dom. Quadr. c. 1*).

General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431:—In this Council the Legate Philip called Peter "the Pillar of the Faith, the Foundation of the Catholic Church" (*Ὁ κίων τῆς πίστεως, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας*.—*Act. iii.* Labbe, Tom. iii. p. 625, Paris, 1671; Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 1477).

General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451:—In the sentence against Dioscorus, approved of by all the Bishops,¹ Peter is called "The Rock and Foundation of the Catholic Church, and support of the orthodox faith" (*Τοῦ τρισμακαριωτάτου Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ὃς ἐστὶ πέτρα καὶ κρηπὶς τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, καὶ τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ὁ θεμέλιος*.—*Act. iii.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 425; Hardouin, Tom. ii. p. 345).

Formula of Pope Hormisdas, A.D. 517. (See Part ii., sections i. and iii.)

St. Gregory the Great, A.D. 604:—"Who is ignorant that the holy Church is established on the firmness of the Chief of the Apostles, who in his name expressed the firmness of his mind, being called Peter from the Rock?" (*Quis enim nesciat sanctam ecclesiam in Apostolorum principis soliditate firmatam, quia firmitatem mentis traxit a nomine, ut Petrus a petra vocaretur*.—*Lib. vi. Epist. 3, ad Eulog. Alexand.*)²

The quotations above given will suffice to prove that the early Fathers were unanimous in applying the words "*upon this rock*."

¹ "The unanimous Council subscribes the judgment" (MILMAN'S *Hist. of Latin Christ.* B. ii. ch. 4, vol. i. p. 268, ed. 1867). This Council was composed of more than 600 Bishops,—nearly all of the Eastern Church.

² In the works of PASSAGLIA, BALLERINI, SCHRADER, and others, extracts are given from various ancient Sacramentaries of the fifth century. See also Bp. MORAN'S *Essays on the Early Irish Church* (Dublin, 1865),—in which various statements made by Usher, Wordsworth, Todd, and others, regarding the primitive belief of that Church, are examined and refuted.

As specimens of the language used by the later GREEK writers, it may suffice to quote the words of **St. John Damascene**,—who calls Peter "that Coryphæus of the Apostles, THE FIRM FOUNDATION, THE UNBROKEN ROCK," &c. (*Πέτρον ἐκείνον τὸν κορυφαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων, τὴν κρηπίδα τὴν ἀσάλευτον, τὴν πέτραν τὴν ἀρραγὴν, τὸν περίβολον τῆς ἐκκλησίας, κ.τ.λ.*—*In Sacr. Parallel.* Tom. ii. p. 591, ed. Migne); of **Photius**,—who says that "UPON PETER REST THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE FAITH" (*Πέτρος ἐφ' ᾧ τὰ τῆς πίστεως κεῖται θεμέλια*.—*Epist. ccxliii.*); and of **Theophylact**,—who calls Peter "THE ROCK AND FOUNDATION AFTER CHRIST" (*τὴν μετὰ Χριστὸν πέτραν καὶ στήριγμα*.—*In Lucam*, c. xxii.)

(*Matt.* xvi. 18) to **St. Peter**; but it is necessary to observe, that many of those who wrote subsequently to the Arian controversy interpreted them also, in a secondary and figurative sense, of St. Peter's faith and confession, and of our Lord Himself, as the primary and invisible Rock whom St. Peter was chosen to represent.

Ballerini, in his work *De Vi ac Ratione Primatus*, c. ii., cites many Fathers, Popes, and ecclesiastical writers who interpret the "*rock*" of St. Peter's faith and confession; and he adds:—"Itaque *petræ* nomine *S. Petri confessionem ac fidem* esse accipiendam tanta ac tam aperta Patrum, Pontificum, ac ecclesiasticorum librorum traditio nos dubitare non sinit" (p. 77, ed. Westhoff, 1845). Several of the passages referred to,—in the works of **Ambrose**, **Chrysostom**, **Victor of Antioch**, **Theodoret**, and **Cyril of Alexandria**,—are given above in pp. 9, 10, 12, 13, and exemplify what all the writers cited by Ballerini have said. The main point to be observed is, that "all who interpret it (the '*rock*') of the faith as confessed by Peter, perfectly harmonise with those who expound it of St. Peter himself; so that these two interpretations, which at first sight appear different, are in reality identical. It is worthy of remark, that, *before the rise of Arianism*, no Father explained the rock of the confession of Peter; which interpretation was first suggested by the necessity of employing every available weapon against that impiety. It is also to be observed, that no Father who declares faith to be the rock expressly excludes Peter, while many positively mention him conjointly with the confession" (**KENRICK'S** *Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated*, 4th ed., p. 55). **F. Bottalla** says: "Mr. Palmer and his friends, on the authority of Dupin, reply that many Fathers understood the rock to mean our Lord; others, the true faith; and others, the Apostles collectively. But Mr. Palmer supposes that those Fathers intended to give their interpretations as being the literal sense of the words of Christ. If such is his opinion, he does a great injustice to the Fathers, by supposing them to have adopted a strange, an unnatural, a distorted, a fanciful interpretation; for such are the terms which **Rosenmuller**, **Kuinoel**, **Bengel**, **Bloomfield**, **Alford**, and others apply to these various interpretations; and, moreover, by falsely representing them as guilty of self-contradiction; for all the Fathers who, before the sixth century, seem to have adopted any of the above-mentioned interpretations, referred *the rock* literally to St. Peter. . . . Now if those very Fathers who understood the rock

either of Christ or of Peter's faith and confession are to be found maintaining the obvious reference of the rock to St. Peter, it manifestly follows that, in proposing that collateral, mediate, and indirect exposition, they did not forget the immediate, original, and traditional interpretation of the rock, ever maintained by the Church Catholic. But, further, *the literal interpretation which refers the rock to St. Peter, so far from excluding the other interpretations given above, is perfectly consistent with them.* Nay, all these interpretations, if we put them together, supply us with the complete and full meaning of Christ's words. For St. Peter was, it is true, appointed the rock on which the Church was to be built, but he was not to be the principal, the original rock, from which the Church was to derive its internal strength. Peter was not himself to be the rock; 'that rock was Christ,' according to the words of the Apostle; and 'other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' Peter was to be the rock of the Church, but secondarily to Christ, from whom the Church was to receive its stability. Yet he was to be the outward and visible rock, whilst Christ was the inward and invisible foundation; for the secondary and visible rock cannot be conceived without the primary foundation. Moreover, faith, and faith in Christ, is the principle which constitutes Christ's Church. Therefore Peter was appointed to be the rock of the Church on account of his faith in, and public confession of, the divinity of Christ. In other words, our Lord founded His Church upon Peter, who had solemnly professed his faith in His Divinity. Peter, then, is the rock, because he represents, and in a manner embodies, the principle of faith in Christ. On this account some of the Fathers, whilst taking the rock in its literal sense, at the same time say also that faith in Christ, or public confession of this faith, is the rock of the Church. These interpretations, far from being incompatible, rather are naturally implied each in the other, and serve to bring out the full import of the words of Christ. What wonder, then, if in the fourth and fifth centuries, when Arianism impugned the Divinity of Christ and attempted to shake the rock of the Church, the Fathers lifted up their voice and denounced the heretics as destroyers of the Church; for the Church, as they teach, is built on the rock of Christ, on the confession of His Divinity? In speaking thus, *they did not reject the literal sense handed down by the tradition of the first three centuries, which they themselves had already repeatedly set forth in their writings.* But in opposing the Arian heresy and its offshoots, they preferred to aim a blow against it by the use of the

mediate, indirect, and relative interpretation" (BOTTALLA, *The Pope and the Church*, part i. pp. 36-38).¹

II.—ST. PETER THE KEY-BEARER.

*The Key-Bearer*²—*Keeper of the Heavenly Gate—Ruler of the Kingdom—The One to whom the Care and Government of the whole Church was committed, &c. (in reference to Matt. xvi. 19).*

Tertullian :—"If thou thinkest heaven is closed, remember that the Lord left here the Keys thereof to Peter, and, through him, to the Church" (Memento, *claves ejus hic Dominum Petro, et per eum ecclesiæ reliquisse.*—*Scorpiace*, n. 10). "Was anything hidden from Peter, who was called the Rock whereon the Church was to be built, and who obtained the Keys of the kingdom of heaven, and the power of binding and of loosing in heaven and on earth?" (Latuit aliquid Petrum ædificandæ ecclesiæ petram dictum, *claves regni cœlorum consecutum et solvendi et alligandi in cœlis et in terrâ potestatem?*—*De Præscript. Hæret.* n. 22).

Origen observes that "If we carefully examine the writings of

¹ On the secondary and allegorical interpretations of the text given by the early Fathers, see WATERWORTH, *The Fathers on St. Peter*, &c., pp. 45-50; PASSAGLIA, *De Prærogat. S. Petri*, pp. 412-421, 442; KENRICK, *On the Primacy*, 4th ed., p. 34 seq.

² In Eastern countries, the "giving of the keys" to any person was the symbol of his investment with supreme power and authority. In *Isai.* xxii. 22, we read :—"And THE KEY of the House of David I will lay upon his shoulder, and he shall open and none shall shut, and he shall shut and none shall open." Compare *Isai.* ix. 6, 7 :—"And THE GOVERNMENT shall be upon his shoulder. . . . Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end, upon the throne of David, and upon his kingdom." *Rev.* i. 17, 18 :—"These things saith He that is holy, He that is true, He that hath THE KEY of David; He that openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth."

KUINÖEL says :—"Clavis symbolum erat curæ et administrationis, *etiam summæ rerum potestatis*. Itaque verba nostra (*Matt.* 16:19) hoc sibi volunt : 'Committam tibi curam civitatis meæ, summam rerum in ecclesiâ meâ' " (*Com. in loc.*) SCHLEUSNER, another learned Protestant commentator, renders the words :—"Tibi concedam potestatem et imperium in Ecclesiam Christianam." BLOOMFIELD says :—"Moreover, the expression 'the Keys' may also refer to the power and authority for the said work; especially as a key or keys was anciently a common symbol of authority; and presenting with a key was a form of investment with authority, and such was afterwards worn as a badge of office" (*Note in loc.*)

the Evangelists, we may discover much difference and pre-eminence in the words spoken to Peter (*Matt.* xvi. 19), over and above those spoken to the Apostles generally (*Matt.* xviii. 19) in the second place. For it is no small difference that **Peter received the Keys, not of one heaven, but of many**, and that whatsoever things he should bind upon the earth, should be bound, not in one heaven, but in all (the heavens). . . . For they (the other Apostles) do not transcend in power as Peter, so as to bind and loose in all the heavens" (*πολλὴν διαφορὰν καὶ ὑπεροχὴν ἐκ τῶν πρὸς τὸν Πέτρον εἰρημένων παρὰ τοὺς δευτέρους· οὐ γὰρ ὀλίγη διαφορὰ τὸν Πέτρον εἰληφέναι τὰς κλεῖδας οὐχ ἑνὸς οὐρανοῦ, ἀλλὰ πλειόνων. . . . Οὐ γὰρ διαβαίνουνσι τῇ δυνάμει ὡς Πέτρος, ἵνα δήσωσιν ἢ λύσωσιν ἐν πᾶσιν οὐρανοῖς.*—*Comment. in Matt.* Tom. xiii. n. 31. Op., Tom. iii. p. 613, 614).

St. Cyprian :—"The Church, which is one, and was by the voice of the Lord founded upon one, who also received the Keys thereof" (*Quæ una est, et super unum, qui et claves ejus accepit, Domini voce fundata est.*—*Epist.* lxxiii. *ad Jubaian.*, n. 11).

St. Hippolytus :—"Peter, the Rock of the Faith, . . . the Teacher of the Church, the First Disciple, he who has the Keys of the kingdom" (*Ex Fabricio, Op. Hipp.* Tom. ii. *De Fine Mundi et de Antichristo*, n. 9). See note in p. 3.

St. Hilary :—"Peter, to whom He had before given the Keys of the kingdom of heaven, . . . the Foundation of the Church, the Door-keeper of the heavenly kingdom, and in his judgment on earth a judge of heaven" (*Cœlestis regni janitorem.*—*Tract. in Ps.* cxxxi. n. 4, Tom. i. p. 503). "O blessed Keeper of the gates of heaven, to whose disposal are delivered the Keys of the entrance into eternity; whose judgment on earth is an authority prejudged in heaven" (*O beatus cœli janitor, cujus arbitrio claves æterni aditus traduntur, cujus terrestre judicium præjudicata auctoritas sit in cœlo.*—*In Matt.* xvi. 7. *Ib.* p. 750). See also *supra*, p. 5.

St. Athanasius, A.D. 362 :—"Peter, who had received the Keys of the kingdom of heaven" (*Fragm. in Matt.* Op. Tom. iii. p. 1377, ed. Migne).

St. Cyril of Jerusalem, A.D. 363 :—"Peter, who bears about with him the Keys of heaven" (*Ὁ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν οὐρανῶν περιφέρων.*—*Catech. Mystag.* vi. 15. Op. ed. Bened., Migne, p. 96.) "The Prince of the Apostles, and Key-Bearer of the kingdom of heaven" (*Τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν κλειδοῦχος Πέτρος.*—*Catech.* xvii. 27. *Ib.* p. 277).

St. Optatus:—"The Keys, which Peter alone received" (Claves, quas solus Petrus accepit.—*De Schism. Donat.* Lib. i. c. 10, ed. Hurter, 1870, p. 42). "For the good of unity, blessed Peter both merited to be preferred before all the Apostles, and he alone received the Keys of the kingdom of heaven, that he might communicate them to the others" (Bono unitatis beatus Petrus præferri omnibus Apostolis meruit, et claves regni coelorum communicandas ceteris solus accepit.—*Ib.* Lib. vii. c. 3, p. 244).

St. Ephræm Syrus:—"The Prince of the Apostles, who had received the Keys, and was accounted the Shepherd of the flock"¹ (*Serm. Syriac.* lvi. *adv. Hær.* Tom. ii. p. 559, ed. Assemann). "We hail thee, Peter, the Tongue of the disciples, the Voice of the

¹ Among the testimonies cited by Bp. DAVID from the Liturgical Offices of the ancient Syriac, Chaldaic, and Nestorian Churches, the following passages occur:—"Moses was the Head of the Old Law, PETER OF THE NEW. One was like to the other, and in each God had His dwelling. Moses, coming down from the Mount, bore the tables of the Law; BUT PETER RECEIVED THE KEYS OF THE HEAVENLY KINGDOM. Moses built the Tabernacle of the Covenant; PETER THE CHURCH" (*In Feriali Breviario, Ferie iiæ. Noct.* 2do. ed. Romæ, 1853, p. 127). In another Office, God is represented as thus speaking, when repudiating the Jewish Synagogue and establishing the Church in its place:—"I will constitute SIMON the Head of My ministers, and will deliver all My treasures into his hands. I will give TO HIM the Keys as well of heaven as of earth. Because he is steadfast before Me, upon him will I raise the walls of My Church" (*In Off. Hebdom. S. Ferie iiæ. Cod.* lx. p. 67, inter nov. S. Congr. de Prop. Fid. Codices). In another Office St. Peter is called "The Head of the disciples, he who received the Keys of heaven" (*In Off. SS. Apost. in iido. Noct.* Cod. lxiv. p. 142). "Simon, the Prince of the Apostles, had supreme (sacerdotal) power, that he should bind and loose without hindrance" (*In Noct. imo. ejusd. Fest.* Cod. lxxv. p. 369). "Behold, I constitute thee THE HEAD OVER MY HOUSEHOLD, and into THY hands I deliver the Keys of heaven and of earth, that thou mayest bind and loose. What thou bindest, I will bind: what thou loosest, I will loose" (*In Fer. Brev. in hora iiiæ Sabbati.* ed. Romæ, 1853, p. 42). In a Synod of the CHALDAIC Church, held under the Patriarch Dadishoos, A.D. 430, the following passage occurs:—"One in his faithful Vicar, Simon Barjonas. . . Christ in truth did not say to all the Apostles 'upon you I will build,' and 'to you will I give the keys.' For although the office of the Priesthood was given to each of the disciples, yet THE SINGULAR PRIMACY, WHICH IS THE SPIRITUAL PATERNITY, WAS GIVEN NOT TO ALL, BUT TO ONE, AS THE FAITHFUL VICAR OF THE ONE TRUE GOD, THAT HE SHOULD BE THE HIGH-PRIEST, RULER, AND GOVERNOR OF HIS BRETHREN" (*In Nomocanon. Eccles. Chald.* in Cod. nov. xxvii. p. 277). GEORGIUS, Patriarch of the Nestorians, in an epistle to the Suffragan Bp. Mennas, says:—"Jesus, as the King of eternal glory and Lord of heaven and earth, delivered the Keys of His Kingdom TO SIMON, THE HEAD OF THE DISCIPLES, whom he calls PETER, to whom He gives the power of binding and of loosing," &c. (*Cod.* xxvii. p. 541). The original text of the above extracts is given in the Appendix to Bp. DAVID's work, *Tradit. Eccl. Syro-Chald. circa Pet. Apost. ejusdemque Successor. Div. Primat.*, Romæ, 1870.

heralds, the Eye of the Apostles, the Keeper of heaven, the First-born of those that bear the Keys" (*Τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡ ὄψις, τῶν οὐρανῶν ὁ φύλαξ, ὁ τῶν κλειδούχων πρωτότοκος*.—*Serm. in SS. Apost. Tom. iii., Gr., p. 464*). "Thee, Simon Peter, will I proclaim the Blessed, who holdest the Keys, which the Spirit made. A great and ineffable word, that he binds and looses those in heaven and those under the earth. Blessed the flock committed to thy care" (*Bibl. Orient. ed. Asseman, Tom. i. p. 95*).

St. Gregory of Nyssa:—"Through Peter He gave to Bishops the Key of the supercelestial honours" (*Διὰ Πέτρου ἔδωκε τοῖς ἐπισκόποις τὴν κλεῖδα τῶν ἐπουρανίων τιμῶν*.—*De Castigat. Op. ed. Morel., Tom. iii. p. 314*).

St. Gregory of Nazianzum:—"Peter, that unbroken Rock, who had the Key" (*Πέτρου, πέτρης ἀρράγέος, γενέτης κληῖδα λαχόντος*.—*Carm. Lib. i. Sect. ii. Poem. Moral. in Laud. Virginit. vers. 488, 489*).

St. Basil the Great:—"That blessed Peter, who was preferred before all the disciples; who alone received a greater testimony and blessing than the rest; he to whom the Keys of the kingdom of heaven were entrusted" (*Ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος, ὁ πάντων μὲν τῶν μαθητῶν προκριθεὶς, μόνος δὲ πλεῖον τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρηθεὶς, καὶ μακαρισθεὶς, ὁ τὰς κλεῖς τῶν οὐρανῶν πιστευθεὶς*.—*Proem. de Judic. Dei, n. 7, Tom. ii. p. 221, ed. Bened.*)

St. Macarius of Egypt, A.D. 371:—"Moses was succeeded by Peter, who had committed to his hands the new Church of Christ, and the true Priesthood" (*Πέτρος Μωσέα διεδέξατο, τὴν καινὴν ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ, καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἱεροσύνην ἐγχειρισθείς*.—*Hom. xxvi. n. 23. Galland. Tom. vii. p. 101*.)

St. Epiphanius:—"In every way was the faith confirmed in him who received the Keys of heaven; who looses on earth and binds in heaven. For in him is found the solution of all the subtle questions of faith" (*Anchorat. n. 9, Tom. ii. p. 15*). See context, *supra*, p. 8.

St. Ambrose:—"Him to whom He gave the kingdom" (*Cui regnum dabat*.—*De Fide, Lib. iv. c. 5, n. 56*.) "Peter strikes off the ear; and why Peter? Because he it is who received the Keys of the kingdom of heaven; for he condemns and absolves, since he received the power both of binding and of loosing. He strikes off the ear of him who sins by his hearing; but by the spiritual sword

he will cut off him who sins by his understanding”¹ (Tollit ergo Petrus aurem. Quare Petrus? quia ipse est qui accepit claves regni coelorum; ille enim condemnat qui et absolvit, quoniam idem et ligandi et solvendi adeptus est potestatem.—*In Lucam*, Lib. x. n. 67, Tom. i. p. 1518). “What fellowship can these (Novatians) have with Thee; men who take not up **the Keys of the kingdom**, denying that they ought to forgive sins; which, indeed, they rightly confess of themselves; for they have not **Peter’s inheritance** who have not Peter’s Chair, which they rend with impious division” (Non habent Petri hereditatem qui Petri sedem non habent, quam impia divisione discerpunt.—*De Pœnitent.* Lib. i. c. 7, n. 32, Tom. ii.) “There went up to the mountain **Peter, who received the Keys of the kingdom of heaven**; John, to whom His mother is entrusted; James, also, who first ascended the Episcopal throne” (*In Lucam*, Lib. vii. n. 9).

St. Asterius:—“Declared ‘*blessed*’ by the truly Blessed, he (Peter) is called the Rock of faith and the Foundation and Sub-structure of the Church of God. He receives, too, by promise ‘*the Keys of the kingdom*,’ and becomes the **Lord of the gates thereof**, so as to open them to whom he may choose, and to close them

¹ Elsewhere (*In Ps.* 38, Tom. i. p. 858) St. AMBROSE, writing against the Novatians, who denied that the Church has the power of forgiving sins, says:—“*What is said to Peter is said to the Apostles.*” This statement is not opposed to the doctrine that to St. Peter alone was committed the supreme power of government. The Hon. COLIN LINDSAY observes:—“Having proved from Scripture that Jesus Christ delivered the Keys to St. Peter singly, alone, and exclusively, and that He did not in any formal manner deliver them to the other Apostles; nevertheless it is true that they and the whole Priesthood possessed the Keys under various limitations. It may be assumed that the Apostles had them in such measure as was sufficient to enable them to execute the extraordinary mission which they received direct from Christ; the Bishops in like manner to that extent which was and is still necessary for the office to which they have been appointed; and the inferior grades of the priesthood for the purpose of governing their flocks, and all—Apostles, bishops, and priests—equally for the absolution of sinners in the sacrament of penance. For these several purposes all had the Keys, according to the extent of their respective jurisdictions, and these by Divine right. But while this is true, it should be borne in mind that none of them could be used independently of the supreme authority of St. Peter as Head over all, who alone received them in plenitude. This is evident from the pastoral commission he had received from Christ as the One Shepherd of the One Fold; no one could assume any position in that Fold, nor exercise any jurisdiction within it, without his permission. The Keys then are, properly speaking, in the hands of Peter alone; the other Apostles and the priesthood generally having the right to use them according to the extent of their jurisdiction, but in union with and subject to St. Peter” (*De Eccles. et Cath.*, vol. ii. p. 758).

against those against whom they justly ought to be shut,—plainly against the defiled and profane, and the deniers of this Confession, through which, as a careful guardian of the wealth of the Churches, he was appointed to preside over the entrances into the kingdom” (*Λαμβάνει δὲ διὰ τῆς ὑποσχέσεως τῆς βασιλείας τὰς κλεῖς καὶ κύριος γίνεται τῶν ἐκείνης πυλῶν, ὥστε αὐτὰς ἀνοίγειν οἷς ἂν ἐθέλοι, . . . αὐτὸς ὡς ἀκριβὴς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἀγαθῶν φύλαξ ἐπιστατεῖν ταῖς εἰσόδοις τῆς βασιλείας ἐτάχθη.*—*Hom. viii., In SS. Pet. et Paul. Migne, Patr. Græc. Tom. xl. p. 280*).

St. Chrysostom :—“Great was God’s consideration towards this city (Antioch), as He manifested by deeds ; inasmuch as **Peter**, who was set over the whole habitable world ; **into whose hands He put the Keys of heaven ; to whom He entrusted to do and to support all things ;** him He ordered to tarry here for a long time” (*Τὸν γοῦν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐπιστάτην ἀπάσης Πέτρον, ᾧ τὰς κλεῖς ἐνεχείρισε τῶν οὐρανῶν, ᾧ πάντα ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν ἐπέτρεψε, πολὺν ἐνταῦθα χρόνον ἐνδιατρῖψαι ἐκέλευσεν.*—*Hom. in S. Ignat. Mart. n. 4, Tom. ii. p. 597*). “He committed to the hands of a mortal man the authority over all things in heaven when He gave him the Keys” (*In Matt. Hom. liv. n. 2, Tom. vii. p. 548*). “He that had given him the Keys of the heavens, and made him lord of so much power, . . . how should he need to pray that he might brace up the shaken soul of one man?” (*Hom. lxxxii. in Matt. n. 3. Ib. p. 586.*)

Ambrosiaster, A.D. 380 :—“The First Apostle, to whom the Lord gave the Keys of the kingdom of heaven” (*Comment. in Epist. ad Galat. ii. 11*).

St. Augustine :—“When **Peter** received the Keys, he denoted the whole Church” (*Tract. 1. in Joann. n. 12, Tom. iii.*) “Amongst the Apostles almost everywhere **Peter** merited to bear the person of the Church. On account of this very person, which he alone of the whole Church bore, he merited to hear, ‘*To thee will I give the Keys of the kingdom of heaven.*’ For these Keys not one man, but the unity of the Church received.¹ Hence the excellence of Peter is set forth, because he bore the figure of that very universality and unity of the Church, when to him was said, ‘*To thee*’ I deliver what

¹ This theory was propounded by St. AUGUSTINE in opposition to the Donatists, who made the efficacy of the sacraments depend on the holiness of the minister. See the note on his doctrine in WATERWORTH’S *Fathers on St. Peter*, pp. 48–50 ; also the remarks of Archbishop KENRICK (*Primacy of the Apostolic See*, pp. 53, 54), who concludes from the above and many similar passages in

was delivered to all" (*Serm. ccxcv. in Nat. Apost. Pet. et Paul. n. 2*).

Prudentius, A.D. 405 :—"Possessing the first Chair, he (Peter) throws open the gates of eternity, that have been intrusted to him" (Cathedram possidens primam, recludit creditas æternitatis januas.—*Hymn. in S. Laurent.* Galland. Tom. viii. p. 440).

Zacchæus, A.D. 421 :—"Peter, into whose person the power of all priests is gathered together" (Petrum, in cujus personam potestas omnium convenit sacerdotum.—*Lib. ii. Consult. Zacch. c. 18.* Galland. Tom. ix. p. 238).

General Council of Ephesus :—"Philip, priest and Legate of the Apostolic See, said : It is doubtful to none, yea, rather it has been known to all ages, that the holy and most blessed **Peter**, the Prince and Head of the Apostles, the Pillar of the faith, the Foundation of the Catholic Church, received the **Keys of the kingdom** from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of the human race, and to him was power given to bind and to loose sins ; and he even until now, and always, lives and exercises judgment in his successors" (Οὐδενὶ ἀμφίβολον ἐστὶ, μᾶλλον δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς αἰῶσιν ἐγνώσθη, ὅτι ὁ ἅγιος καὶ μακαριώτατος Πέτρος, ὁ ἑξάρχος καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ κίων τῆς πίστεως, ὁ θεμέλιος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ . . . τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας ἐδέξατο, καὶ αὐτῷ δέδοται ἐξουσία καὶ δεσμεῖν καὶ λύειν ἁμαρτίας· ὅστις ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ αἰεὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ διαδόχοις καὶ ζῇ καὶ δικάζει.—*Act. iii.* Labbe, Tom. iii. p. 625 ; Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 1477).

St. Maximus of Turin :—"Of how great merit, then, was Peter with his God, that, after rowing his little boat, the helms of the whole Church should be committed to him? . . . Diligently notice what the greatness of his glory to whom the **Keys of the eternal kingdom** are committed, and it is permitted to him to shut and open heaven" (Quanti igitur meriti apud Deum suum Petrus erat, ut ei post naviculæ parvæ remigium totius ecclesiæ gubernacula traderentur? . . . Et ideo diligenter intendite quæ sit ejus gloriæ magnitudo, cui dum claves regni committuntur æterni, cœlum illi claudere et aperire permissum est.—*Hom. iii. in Fest. Apost. Pet.*

Augustine's works, that what he inculcates is plainly that the Church received the power of forgiveness through Peter, who in his official capacity represented her, on account of the Primacy of his Apostleship. This does not imply that the Keys, as the symbol of governing power, were not given to Peter in a more special manner. See preceding note.

et Paul. Bibl. Max. PP. Tom. vi. In Migne's edit., *Hom.* lxx. pp. 399, 340). "To **Peter**, as to a good steward, He gave the Key of the kingdom of heaven; to **Paul**, as a fit teacher, He enjoined the mastership of ecclesiastical institution. . . . Both received Keys from the Lord; the one of knowledge, **the other of power**" (*Ambo igitur claves a Domino perceperunt, scientiæ iste, ille potentiæ.*¹—*Hom. v. de Eod. Fest.* In Migne, *Hom.* lxxii. p. 403, 404). "To Peter He gave the Keys of the kingdom; to Paul He gave the word of wisdom: to each a wonderful work" (*De Eod. Fest.* Galland, ix. p. 377). "I will make thee have a **perpetual primacy in heaven and in My kingdom**" (*Ego te in cælo regnoque meo perpetuum faciam habere primatum.*—*Serm.* lxxii. *de Verb. Evang. Vos estis sal terræ.* Ib. p. 393).

St. Coelestine, Pope, A.D. 422:—"We in a special manner are constrained by our charge, which regards all men; we on whom Christ has, **in the person of holy Peter the Apostle, when He gave him the Keys to open and shut**, imposed as a necessity to be engaged about all men" (*Nosque præcipue circa omnes curâ constringimur, quibus necessitatem de omnibus tractandi Christus in Petro, cum illi claves . . . daret, indulxit.*—*Epist.* iii. *ad Episc. Illyr.* Galland. Tom. ix.)

Cassian, A.D. 429:—"Let us interrogate him who is the highest, both as disciple among disciples and teacher among teachers; who, ruling the helm of the Roman Church, as he had the supremacy of faith, so also had he the supremacy of the priesthood. Tell us, therefore, O **Peter**, Prince of the Apostles, tell us how the Churches ought to believe God. For it is just that thou, taught of the Lord, shouldst teach us, and open to us the door of which thou didst receive the Key. Shut out all who undermine the heavenly house; and turn away those who attempt to enter through illegitimate caverns and illegitimate approaches, because **it is certain that no one shall be able to enter the gate of the heavenly kingdom save he to whom the Key placed by thee in the Churches shall open it**" (*Qui Romanæ ecclesiæ gubernaculum regens, sicut fidei habuit, ita et sacerdotii principatum. Dic nobis . . . princeps Apostolorum, Petre, . . . quia certum est quod nullus ostium regni intrare poterit, nisi cui clavis a te in ecclesiis collocata resesarit.*—*De Incarnat.* Lib. iii. Bibl. Max. Patr. Tom. vii. p. 78).

¹ Comp. **Venantius Fortunatus**, A.D. 570:—"Doctior hic (Paulus) monitis, **CELSIOR ILLE (PETRUS) GRADU**" (*Lib.* iii. *Carm.* 7); and again:—"PRINCEPS CLAVE PETRUS, primus quoque dogmate Paulus" (*Lib.* ix. *Carm.* 2).

St. Peter Chrysologus, A.D. 440 :—"Let **Peter** hold his long-established **Primacy over the Apostolic choir** ; let him open to those who enter the kingdom of heaven" (Petrus apostolici chori vetustum teneat principatum, aperiat intrantibus regnum cœlorum.—*Serm. cliv.*, ed. Aug. Vind., 1758, p. 217. In Migne's edit. p. 608).

St. Leo the Great :—"The right of this power (of the Keys) passed also indeed to the other Apostles, and the constitution of this decree has flowed on to all the princes of the Church ; but not in vain is that intrusted to one which is intimated to all. For to **Peter** is this therefore intrusted individually, because the pattern of Peter is set before all the rulers of the Church. **The privilege of Peter therefore remains**, whatever judgment is passed in accordance with his equity" (Non frustra uni commendatur, quod omnibus intimatur. Petro enim ideo hoc singularitur creditur, quia cunctis ecclesiæ rectoribus Petri forma præponitur. Manet ergo Petri privilegium, ubicunque ex ipsius fertur æquitate judicium.—*Serm. iv. in Natal. Ord. c. 3*). "The blessed Apostle Peter, to whom the power of binding and of loosing was given above the rest" (Cui præ ceteris solvendi et ligandi tradita est potestas.—*Epist. x. ad Episc. per Prov. Vienn. in causâ Hilarii, c. 2*).

St. Cæsarius of Arles, A.D. 502 :—"To **Peter** were to be intrusted the Keys of the kingdom and the ecclesiastical troop" (*Dial. iv. n. 194*).

Eulogius of Alexandria, A.D. 581 :—"Neither to John, nor to any other of the disciples, did our Saviour say, '*I will give to thee the Keys of the kingdom of heaven,*' but to **Peter**" ("Οτι διὰ τοῦτο, φησιν, οὔτε πρὸς Ἰωάννην, οὔτε πρὸς ἕτερόν τινα τῶν μαθητῶν ἔφη ὁ Σωτὴρ τὸ καὶ δώσω σοὶ τὰς κλεῖς τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς ἀλλ' ἢ πρὸς Πέτρον.—*Lib. ii. adv. Novatian.*, ap. Photium, *Biblioth. Cod. 280*).

St. Gregory the Great :—"It is evident to all who know the Gospels, that by the voice of the Lord the care of the whole Church was committed to holy Peter, the Prince of all the Apostles. For to him it is said, . . . '*Thou art Peter,*' &c. Behold, **he receives the Keys of the heavenly kingdom ; the power of binding and of loosing is given to him ; to him the care and government of the whole Church is committed**" (Cunctis evangelium scientibus liquet, quod voce dominicâ sancto et omnium Apostolorum principi Petro Apostolo totius ecclesiæ cura commissa est. Ipsi quippe dicitur, *Petre, amas me? Pasce oves meas.* Ipsi dicitur, *Ecce Satanas expetiit cribare vos sicut triticum, et ego pro te rogavi Petre, ut non deficiat*

fides tua, et tu aliquando conversus confirma fratres tuos. Ipsi dicitur, Tu es Petrus. . . . Ecce clavis regni coelestis accepit, potestas ei ligandi atque solvendi tribuitur, cura ei totius ecclesiæ et principatus committitur.—Lib. v. Epist. xx. ad Mauric. August. Tom. ii. p. 748, ed. Bened., Paris, 1705).

Stephen of Dora, A.D. 649 :—“The great Peter, the Head of the Apostles, was alone beside all thought worthy to be intrusted with the Keys of the kingdom of heaven” (*In Libell. lect. in Concil. Lat. sub Mart. Pap. Hardouin, Tom. iii. p. 712*).

Venerable Bede, A.D. 700 :—“Blessed Peter in a special manner received the Keys of the kingdom of heaven and the Headship of judiciary power, that all believers throughout the world might understand that all those who in any way separate themselves from the unity of his faith and communion, such can neither be absolved from the bonds of their sins, nor enter the gate of the heavenly kingdom” (B. Petrus . . . specialiter claves regni coelorum et principatum judicariæ potestatis accepit, ut omnes per orbem credentes intelligant, qui quicunque ab unitate fidei vel societatis illius quolibet modo semetipsos segregant, tales nec vinculis peccatorum absolvi, nec januam possint regni coelestis ingredi.—*Hom. xvi. in Die SS. Pet. et Paul. Migne, Patr. Lat. Tom. xciv. p. 223*).

III.—ST. PETER THE CONFIRMER OF HIS BRETHREN.

The Confirmer of the Brethren—The Pillar and Foundation of the Faith—The One Intrusted with the Care of All—The Support of the Church, &c. (in reference to Luke xxii. 31, 32).

St. Ambrose :—“Peter, after being tempted by the devil, is set over the Church. The Lord, therefore, signified beforehand what that is, that He afterwards chose him to be the Pastor of the Lord’s flock. For to him He said, ‘But thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren’” (Denique Petrus ecclesiæ præponitur, postquam tentatus a diabolo est. Itaque ante significat Dominus quid sit illud, quod postea eum pastorum elegit dominici gregis. Nam huic dixit, &c.—*In Ps. xliii. n. 40, Tom. i. p. 904*). “Could He not, therefore, strengthen the faith of him to whom, of His own authority, He gave the kingdom, and whom, in calling a Rock, He made the strength of the Church?” (Cui propriâ auctoritate regnum

dabat, hujus fidem firmare non poterat; quem cum petram dicit, firmamentum ecclesiæ indicavit?—*De Fide*, Lib. iv. c. 5, n. 56, Tom. ii. p. 531).

St. Chrysostom, on the words, "*In those days Peter rose up in the midst of the disciples*" (*Acts* i. 15):—"Both as being ardent and as intrusted by Christ with the flock, . . . he first acts with authority in the matter, as **having all put into his hands**; for to him Christ had said, '*And thou, being converted, confirm thy brethren*'" (ὡς ἐμπιστευθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ποίμνην, καὶ ὡς τοῦ χοροῦ πρῶτος, πρῶτος τοῦ πράγματος αὐθεντεῖ, ἅτε αὐτὸς πάντας ἐγχειρισθείς, πρὸς γὰρ τοῦτον εἶπεν ὁ Χριστός· καὶ σύ ποτε ἐπιστρέψας στήριξον τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου.—*Hom. iii. in Act. Apost.* n. 1-3, Tom. ix. pp. 24-27).

St. Cyril of Alexandria:—"Therefore does He pass by the other disciples, but comes to the Coryphæus himself. . . . '*And thou, being converted, confirm thy brethren*;' that is, **become a Support and Teacher of those who come to Me by faith**"¹ (τουτέστι, γενοῦ στήριγμα καὶ διδάσκαλος τῶν διὰ πίστεως προσιόντων ἐμοί.—*In Lucam.* Tom. v. p. 420).

Theodoret:—"The great Foundation of the Church was shaken, and confirmed by the divine grace. . . . And the Lord commanded him to **apply the same care to the brethren**. '*And thou*,' he says, '*converted, confirm thy brethren*'"² (*Hæret. Fab.* Lib. v. c. 28, Tom. iv. p. 478). "For as I, He says, did not overlook thee when thou wast tottering, **so do thou also become a Support to thy brethren when shaken**, and communicate of that help of which thou hast partaken. . . . Then did that great Pillar support the tottering

¹ Comp. **Theophylactus**:—"THIS (to '*confirm the brethren*') BECOMETH THEE, WHO, AFTER ME, ART THE ROCK AND FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH. We may suppose that this has been said not of the Apostles alone, that they were to be confirmed by Peter, but OF ALL THE FAITHFUL, EVEN TO THE END OF THE WORLD" (στήριξον τοὺς λοιποὺς· τοῦτο γὰρ προσήκει σοι ὡς μετ' ἐμὲ ὄντι τῆς ἐκκλησίας πέτρα καὶ στηρίγματι.—*Com. in Luc.* xxii. Migne, Patr. Græc. vol. cxxiii. p. 1073).

² "To confirm others, is to be put in an office of dignity and authority over them. And his brethren were those whom our Lord till now had been addressing in common with him; to whom He had just disclosed '*a Greater*' and '*a Ruler*' among them; that is, the Apostles themselves. Among these, then, when our Lord's visible presence was withdrawn, Peter was to be the principle of stability, binding and moulding them into one building. For one cannot fail to see how this great promise and prophecy answers to those in Matthew. There our Lord, as Architect, promised to lay Peter as the foundation of the Church, against which the gates of hell should not prevail; here, being about to leave the world,

world, . . . and received a command to feed the sheep of God" (οὕτω τὴν οἰκουμένην σαλευομένην ὁ μέγας οὗτος στύλος ἐπη-
ρεισε, κ.τ.λ.—*Orat. de Caritate*, Tom. iii. p. 1309).

In the **General Council of Ephesus** St. Peter is called "**the Pillar of the Faith**" (ὁ κίων τῆς πίστεως.—*Act.* iii. Labbe, Tom. iii. p. 625 ; Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 1477).

In the **General Council of Chalcedon** St. Peter is called "**the Foundation of the orthodox faith**" (τῆς ὀρθοδόξου πίστεως ὁ θεμέλιος.—*Act.* iii. Labbe, iv. p. 425 ; Hardouin, Tom. ii. p. 345).

St. Leo the Great:—"For the faith of **Peter** in particular does He pray, as if the state of the others would be more sure if the mind of their Prince were not conquered. In **Peter**, therefore, the fortitude of all is defended, and the help of divine grace is so ordered **that the firmness which through Christ is given to Peter may through Peter be conferred on the Apostles**. Therefore, since we see that so great a safeguard has been divinely instituted for us, reasonably and justly do we rejoice in the merits and dignity of our Leader, giving thanks to our everlasting King and Redeemer, who gave so great a power to him whom He made the Prince of the whole Church, that if anything is rightly done and rightly ordered by us, even in these our days, it be referred to **his** doing, to **his** governing, unto whom was said, '*And thou, converted, confirm thy brethren,*'" &c. (Specialis a Domino Petri cura suscipitur, et pro fide Petri proprie supplicatur, tanquam aliorum status certior sit futurus, si mens principis victa non fuerit. In Petro, ergo, omnium fortitudo munitur, et divinæ gratiæ ita ordinatur auxilium, ut firmitas, quæ per Christum Petro tribuitur, per Petrum apostolis conferatur. . . . Tantam potentiam dedit ei, quem totius ecclesiæ principem fecit ;

when His own work was finished, to ascend unto His Father, and to assume His great power and reign, He makes Peter as it were the Architect to carry on the work, which was to be completed by His grace and authority, but by human co-operation. So exact is the resemblance, that we may put the two promises in parallel columns to illustrate one another :—

<p>'Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build My Church ; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'</p>	<p>'But I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not ; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren.'</p>
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" . . . When it is said to Peter, '*And thou, in thy turn, confirm thy brethren,*' the charge and office are laid upon him, as an architect divinely chosen, of holding together, strengthening, and keeping in their place the several parts of the ecclesiastical structure" (See *ALLIES' St. Peter, his Name and Office as set forth in Holy Scripture*).

ut si^q quid etiam temporibus nostris recte per nos agitur, recteque disponitur, illius operibus, illius sit gubernaculis deputandum, cui dictum est: *Et tu conversus confirma fratres tuos.*—*Serm.* iv. c. 3, 4, ed. Baller.)

St. Gelasius, Pope, A.D. 492 :—"For the government of the Apostolic See, engaged without ceasing in the care of the whole flock of the Lord, **which care was delegated to the blessed Apostle Peter by the voice of our Saviour Himself**, '*And thou, converted, confirm thy brethren,*' we neither can nor ought to dissemble such things as constrain our solicitude" (Pro Sedis Apostolicæ modamine totius ovilis dominici curam sine cessatione tractantes, quæ beato Petro Salvatoris ipsius nostri voce delegata est, *Et tu conversus confirma tuos.* Et item, *Petre amas me? Pasce oves meas*, &c.—*Epist.* v. *ad Honor. Dalmat. Episc.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 1172).

Pope Pelagius II., A.D. 590 (*Epist.* v. Labbe, Tom. vi. ed. Venet. 1753, p. 626).

Pope Gregory the Great, A.D. 604 (*Epist.* Lib. v. ep. 20, Tom. ii. p. 748, ed. Bened. 1705).

Stephen, Bishop of Dora, A.D. 649 (*In Libel. Supp. Lect. in Concil. Rom.* Labbe, ed. Ven. Tom. viii. p. 107; in Hardouin, Tom. iii. pp. 712, 713).

Pope Vitalian, A.D. 669 (*Epist.* i. Labbe, Tom. vii. p. 460).

General Council of Constantinople, A.D. 680, in which the letter of Pope **Agatho**,—who in like manner applies the text to **the infallible faith of St. Peter and his Successors**,—was received with acclamations by the assembled Fathers (Labbe, Tom. vii. ed. Venet. 1729, pp. 659, 662; in Hardouin, Tom. iii. pp. 1079, 1082).

IV.—ST. PETER THE CHIEF PASTOR.

Pastor of the Lord's Flock—The One Intrusted with the Flock—Shepherd of the Church—Universal Pastor—Pastor of Pastors—The One to whom Christ committed the Presidency over His Sheep, and over the Universal Church, &c. (in reference to John xxi. 15–17).

Origen :—"To Peter was the Supreme Power to feed the sheep delivered, and upon him, as on the earth, the Church was founded" (Petro cum summa rerum de pascendis ovibus tradetur, et super ipsum velut super terram fundaretur ecclesia.—*Lib.* v. *in Epist. ad Rom.* n. 5, Tom. iv. p. 568).

St. Cyprian :—"Peter, to whom the Lord commends His sheep to be fed and guarded, on whom He placed and founded the Church" (Petrus, cui oves suas Dominus pascendas tuendasque commendat, &c.—*De Habitu Virg.* n. 10, ed. Goldh.) "Upon him alone He builds His Church, and to him assigns His sheep to be fed. And although to all the Apostles, after His resurrection, He gives an equal power, and says, '*As the Father hath sent Me, even so send I you. Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whose sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained;*' yet, in order to manifest unity, He has, by His own authority, so disposed the origin of that same unity as that it begins from one. Certainly the other Apostles also were what Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship both of honour and power; but the commencement proceeds from unity, and the **Primacy is given to Peter**, that the Church of Christ may be set forth as one, and the Chair as one. . . . He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think that he holds the faith? He who strives against and resists the Church, he who abandons the Chair of Peter, upon whom the Church was founded, does he feel confident that he is within the Church?" (*Super illum unum ædificat ecclesiam suam, et illi pascendas mandat oves suas;*¹ . . . ut unitatem manifestaret, unitatis originem ab uno incipientem suâ

¹ This and the other clauses printed in italics have been regarded by some critics and editors as interpolations. They were omitted in the editions of Erasmus (1520), Fell (Oxon. 1682), and Baluzius, but retained in those of Paul Manutius (1563), Pamelius (1568), Rigaltius (1648), Dom. Pudent. Maranus (who revised and brought out the edition of Baluzius, Paris, 1726), and others. Although wanting in many MSS., it should be observed,—1st, That besides the *Vatican* and other valuable MSS. consulted by Manutius, Pamelius, &c., a Bavarian MS. containing them was discovered by Gretzer; and four ancient English MSS., mentioned by the Protestant editor, Bp. Fell: also that they were quoted as far back as the year 582 by Pope PELAGIUS II., in his 2nd Epistle to the Bishops of Istria; in the Acts of ALEXANDER III., and by IVO OF CHARTRES and GRATIAN (see Freppel's *S. Cyprien*, p. 279). 2ndly, That, as NEANDER and other Protestant writers admit, the clauses referred to contain nothing that is not taught by Cyprian in other passages of undoubted authenticity; e.g.:—"There is one Church and one Chair, founded by the voice of the Lord upon a Rock" (*Epist.* xl. ed. Baluz.); "Peter, whom the Lord chose to be first (or chief), and upon whom He built His Church, when Paul afterwards disputed with him regarding circumcision, did not claim anything to himself insolently, or assume anything arrogantly, SO AS TO SAY THAT HE HELD THE PRIMACY (ut diceret se primatum tenere,—i.e., so as arrogantly to assert or fall back upon his Supreme Authority, when justly upbraided by St. Paul); nor that obedience ought rather to be paid to him by those who were novices and had come after him," &c. (*Epist.* lxxi. n. 3); "There is one Church, founded by the Lord upon Peter, for the origin and purpose of unity" (*Epist.* lxx. n. 3); "The Chair of Peter and the Ruling Church (the Roman),

auctoritate disposuit. . . . Exordium ab unitate proficiscitur, *et primatus Petro datur, ut una ecclesia et Cathedra una monstraretur.* . . . Hanc ecclesiæ unitatem qui non tenet, tenere se fidem credit? Qui ecclesiæ renititur et resistit, *qui Cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est ecclesia, deserit, in ecclesiâ se esse confidit?*—*De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, n. 4.

St. Ephræm Syrus¹:—"He was the Prince of the Apostles, and had received the Keys, and was accounted **the Shepherd of the flock**" (*Serm. lvi. adv. Hær. Tom. ii., Syr., p. 559*). "Blessed the flock committed to thy care! How much has it increased! . . . O thou blessed one, that obtainedst the place of the Head and of the Tongue in the body of thy brethren, which body was enlarged whence the Unity of the Priesthood has its source" (*Epist. lv. ad Cornel.*) This last passage is, as NEANDER observes, "UNCONTROVERTED" (Bohn's *Neander*, i. p. 398), and is even stronger than those in the treatise *De Unitate*. Dean MILMAN also admits that Cyprian "assigned a kind of Primacy to St. Peter, and acknowledged the hereditary descent of the Roman Bishop from the great Apostle" (*Hist. of Latin Christ. B. ii. ch. 4*). 3rdly, The genuineness of the entire text, as maintained in the Benedictine edition, seems to be strongly confirmed by the very similar language regarding St. Peter's "Primacy" and "Chair" used by OPTATUS (*De Schism. Donat. ii. 3*), JEROME (*Epist. xv. ad Damas. et adv. Jovinian. n. 26*), AUGUSTINE (*In Joann. Tract. 56, n. 1; De Bapt. cont. Donat. xi. n. 2; Ps. in Part. Donat., &c.*), and POPE GELASIUS (*Epist. xiv.*);—all of whom seem to have had St. Cyprian's words before their eyes. 4thly, If there had been any design to corrupt the text "in the interest of the Church of Rome," how is it that the passages on which Protestants insist, regarding the equality of the Apostles, were not omitted or altered? 5thly, It would be well for those Anglicans and Protestants who, on account of the paucity of MSS. containing them, reject the clauses referred to as "evident interpolations," to explain on what principle they themselves have retained for three centuries and a half certain controverted passages of the New Testament itself—e.g., verses 7 and 8 of the 5th chapter of St. John's 2nd Epistle, of which a Protestant writer says: "Of all the ancient MSS. of this Epistle, which amount to 150, there have been found but five containing this passage, and these are of but questionable authority" (Dr. PINNOCK's *Analysis of New Testament History*, 4th ed., Cambridge, p. 91). Of the disputed passages in Cyprian the same writer observes: "They are said to have been interpolated by the Roman Church" (*Analys. of Ecclesiast. Hist.*, p. 242); but he omits to state how many of the existing MSS. do or do not contain them.

¹ Among the passages cited by Bp. DAVID from the Liturgical Offices of the **Syro-Chaldaic Church** we find:—"Because He saw his (PETER'S) love, He constituted him **THE HEAD OF HIS FLOCK**" (*In Off. Apost. Pet. et Paul. [CHALD.], in 1^o Kalo, Noct. ii. Cod. xli. inter nov. Congr. de Prop. Fide Codices, p. 364*). "Sing, O holy Church, praises in commemoration of Peter, Head of the Apostles, upon whose faith He established thy foundations, and whom He constituted **HEAD OF HIS FLOCK**" (*Ib. in 7^o Kalo, p. 375*). "The Lord said to Simon:—"Thou art the Rock of strength, and upon thee will I place My Church. . . . O true disciple, **TO THEE IS GIVEN THE FLOCK** which has been redeemed by My precious blood; be to it a true Pastor, and preserve it from

out of the disciples and sons of thy Lord" (*Bibl. Orient.*, ed. Asseman. Tom. i. p. 95).

St. Ambrose :—"Set over the Church, . . . **the Pastor of the Lord's flock**" (*Petrus ecclesiæ præponitur, . . . pastor Dominici gregis.*—*In Ps.* xliii. n. 40). "**Chosen to feed the flock by the judgment of the Lord Himself**" (*Est Petrus ipsius Domini ad pasendum gregem electus iudicio.*—*De Fide*, Lib. v. c. 1, n. 2). "Him whom, as He is about to be raised to heaven, He was leaving to us, as it were, **the Vicar of His love**. For thus you have it: '*Simon, son of John, lovest thou Me? . . . Feed My sheep.*' . . . Because he alone out of all makes this profession (of love), he is **preferred before all**, . . . and now he is not ordered, as at first, to '*feed the lambs,*' . . . but '*His sheep,*' **that the more perfect might govern the more perfect**" (*Quem elevandus in cœlum amoris sui velut vicarium relinquebat. . . . Omnibus antefertur, . . . perfectiores ut perfectior gubernaret.*—*In Lucam*, Lib. x. n. 175, 176, Tom. i. p. 1542).

St. Epiphanius :—"He heard from that same God, '*Peter, feed My sheep;*' **to him was intrusted the flock**; he leads the way admirably in the power of his own Master" (*Ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὴν ποιμνὴν, ὁ καλῶς ὁδηγῶν ἐν τῇ δυνάμει τοῦ ἰδίου δεσπότου.*—*In Anchorat.* n. 9, Tom. ii. p. 15).

St. Chrysostom on John xxi. 15 :—"And why, then, passing by the others, does He converse with **Peter** on these things? He was the Chosen one of the Apostles, and the Mouth of the disciples, and the Leader of the choir. On this account, Paul also went up on a time to see him rather than the others. And withal, to show him that he must have confidence, as the denial was done away with, **He puts into his hands the Presidency over his brethren**. And He brings not forward that denial, neither does He reproach him with the past, but says to him, '*If thou love Me, rule over the brethren;*'¹ . . . and the third time He gives him the same in-harm" (*In Off. SS. Apost. [SYR.], in Noct.* ii. Cod. lxiv. p. 141). "Simon, Head of the Apostles, Foundation, GOVERNOR, PASTOR, AND RULER OF THE CHURCH" (*In horâ ἱμα.* Ib., p. 151). "The greatest blessing was given by the Saviour to PETER, Prince of the Apostles, whom He constituted the Foundation of the Church, and to whom He said, '*Feed My little lambs, feed My lambs, feed My sheep,*'" &c. (*LITURG. SYR., in Off. Feria viæ, Auri, quæ est ἱμα post Pent.* Cod. lxiv. p. 110). "The Lord said to Simon, the Head of the Apostles, '*I deliver My Church into thy hands; feed thou My lambs and My sheep, and teach them the laws of the ministry,*'" &c. (*Ibid.* p. 119.)

¹ Προΐστασο τῶν ἀδελφῶν. Thus St. Chrysostom interprets the words of Christ, Ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατα μου. The same word (ποιμανεῖ) is rendered "RULE" in

junction, showing at what a price He sets the **Presidency over His own sheep**. And if any one should say, How then did James receive the throne of Jerusalem?—this I would answer, that He appointed this man (Peter) **teacher**, not of that throne, but of **the world**” (Καὶ τί δήποτε τοὺς ἄλλους παραδραμὼν τούτῳ περὶ τούτων διαλέγεται; *Εκκριτος ἦν τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ στόμα τῶν μαθητῶν, καὶ κορυφὴ τοῦ χοροῦ . . . ἐγχειρίζεται τὴν προστασίαν τῶν ἀδελφῶν . . . λέγει δὲ ὅτι εἰ φιλεῖς με, προῖστασο τῶν ἀδελφῶν. . . . Εἰ δέ λέγοι τις, πῶς οὖν ὁ Ἰάκωβος τὸν θρόνον ἔλαβε τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων; ἐκείνο ἂν εἴποιμι, ὅτι τοῦτον οὐ τοῦ θρόνου, ἀλλὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐχειροτόνησε διδάσκαλον.—*In Joann. Hom.* lxxxviii. Tom. viii. pp. 526, 527). “**Intrusted by Christ with the flock**,”¹ &c. (ὡς ἐμπιστευθεὶς παρὰ τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ποίμνην, καὶ ὡς τοῦ χοροῦ πρῶτος.—*Hom.* iii. *in Act.* Tom. ix. p. 24). “After so great an evil (his denial), He again raised him to his former honour, and **intrusted to his hands the Primacy over the Universal Church**” (τὴν ἐπιστάσιν τῆς οἰκουμένης ἐκκλησίας ἐνεχείρισε.—*Hom.* v. *de Pœnitent.* n. 2). “Christ, speaking to the Coryphæus of the Apostles, says, ‘*Peter, lovest thou Me?*’ &c. . . . And wherefore did He shed His blood? That He might possess those sheep which He **intrusted to Peter and to those after him**. Rightly, then, did Christ say, ‘*Who, thinkest thou, is a faithful and wise servant, whom the Lord hath appointed over His household?*’ . . . Peter was declared to have power and to go beyond all the rest of the Apostles” (Πρὸς τὸν κορυφαῖον τῶν ἀποστόλων διαλεγόμενος, . . . ἵνα τὰ πρόβατα κτήσεται ταῦτα,

Matt. ii. 6:—“Out of thee shall come a Governor that shall **RULE** My people Israel;” and in *Rev.* ii. 27:—“He shall **RULE** the nations with a rod of iron.” See also *Rev.* xiii. 5; xix. 15. In the Old Testament the LXX translators continually employ the same Greek word to express the office of kings and rulers; e.g., “I will set up one Shepherd (ποιμένα) over them, and he shall **FEED** (RULE, ποιμανεῖ) them, and shall be their Shepherd” (*Ezech.* xxxiv. 23). “And David My servant shall be king over them, and they shall all have one **SHEPHERD**” (*Ezech.* xxxvii. 24). “Thou shalt **FEED** (RULE, ποιμανεῖ) My people Israel, and thou shalt be a captain over Israel” (2 *Sam.* v. 2). See also 2 *Sam.* vii. 7; 1 *Chron.* ii. 2; xvii. 6, &c.

¹ Comp. **Theophylactus**:—“TO PETER HE COMMITTED THE GOVERNMENT OF HIS SHEEP THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,” &c. (Τῷ Πέτρῳ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν τῆς οἰκουμένης προβάτων ἐγχειρίζει, οὐκ ἄλλῳ δε, ἀλλὰ τούτῳ ταύτην δίδωσι, πρῶτον μὲν, ὅτι πάντων ἐκκριτος καὶ στόμα τοῦ χοροῦ παντός κ.τ.λ.—*Com.* *in Joan.* xxi. 15). **Theodore the Studite** says:—“He conferred on the great PETER, after the Keys of the kingdom, THE DIGNITY OF THE PASTORAL HEADSHIP” (τῆς ποιμνιαρχίας ἀξίωμα.—*Lib.* i. *Epist.* xxiii. *ad Leon. Pont.*)

ἂ τῷ Πέτρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνον ἐνεχείρισεν. . . . τὸν Πέτρον ἔφησε δυνήσεσθαι καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὑπερακοντίσαι τοὺς λοιπούς.—*De Sacerdotio*, Lib. ii. c. 1, Tom. i.)

St. Asterius:—"The Saviour confided to this man, as some special trust, the Universal and Œcumenical Church, after having thrice asked him, '*Lovest thou Me?*' . . . Peter received the world in charge, as it were for one fold, one Shepherd, having heard, '*Feed My lambs;*' and the Lord gave, well-nigh in His own stead, that most faithful disciple to the proselytes as a Father, and Shepherd, and Instructor" (Ὡςπερ τινὰ παραθήκην ἐξαίρετον, τὴν καθόλου καὶ οἰκουμενικὴν ἐκκλησίαν τούτῳ τῷ ἀνδρὶ παρατίθεται, τρίτον αὐτοῦ πυθόμενος τὸ φιλεῖς με; . . . ἔλαβεν τὸν κόσμον εἰς ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς μίαν ἀγέλην εἰς ποιμὴν ἀκούσας Βόσκει τὰ ἀρνία μου · καὶ σχεδὸν ἀνθ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸν πιστότατον μαθητὴν ἔδωκεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς προσηλύτοις πατέρα, καὶ νομέα καὶ παιδευτήν.—*Hom. viii. in SS. Pet. et Paul.* Ed. Migne, p. 281).

Ambrosiaster:—"As all (the Apostles) were included in the Saviour by virtue of His office as Teacher, so also after the Saviour all were included in Peter. For He constituted him to be their Head, that he might be the Shepherd of the Lord's flock. . . . And He says to Peter, '*Behold, Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for thee,*' &c. What doubt is there? Did He pray for Peter, but pray not for James and John, not to mention the others? It is manifest that all are included in Peter; for, praying for Peter, He is seen to have prayed for all. For a people is ever blamed or praised in him that is set over it" (Sicut in Salvatore erant omnes causâ magisterii, ita et post Salvatorem in Petro omnes continentur. Ipsum enim constituit esse caput eorum, ut Pastor esset gregis dominici. . . . Manifestum est in Petro omnes contineri: rogans enim pro Petro, pro omnibus rogasse dignoscitur. Semper enim in præposito populus aut corripitur aut laudatur.—*Quæst. ex Nov. Test. lxxv. ap. Op. S. August.* Tom. iii. p. 2270, ed. Bened. Migne).

St. Augustine:—"I am held in the communion of the Catholic Church by . . . the succession of prelates from the very Chair of the Apostle Peter, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, committed His sheep to be fed" (Tenet ab ipsâ sede Petri apostoli, cui pascendas oves post resurrectionem Dominus commendavit, successio sacerdotum.—*Cont. Epist. Manich. Fundam. n. 5, Tom. vi. p. 176*). "Peter was made the Pastor of the Church, as Moses was made the Ruler of the Jewish people" (Petrus factus est Pastor

ecclesiæ, sicut Moyses . . . factus est rector illius Synagogæ.—*Cont. Faustum*, Lib. xxii. c. 70). “Peter himself, **to whom He commended His sheep as another self**, He wished to make one with Himself, that so He might commend the sheep to him; that he might be the Head, he bear the figure of the body, that is, of the Church, and as husband and wife be two in one flesh” (*Serm.* xlvi. n. 30, Tom. v.) “Amongst the Apostles almost everywhere **Peter alone** merited to bear the person of the Church. Justly also, after the resurrection, the Lord commended to Peter himself His sheep to be fed. For not he alone amongst the disciples merited to feed the Lord’s sheep; but when Christ speaks to one, unity is commended, and **to Peter primarily because amongst the Apostles Peter is the first**” (*Serm.* ccxcv. in *Natal. Apost. Pet. et Paul.* n. 2, 4, Tom. v.)

St. Boniface, Pope :—“Peter, . . . the perpetual Shepherd of the Lord’s sheep, in whom we read that the foundation of the Universal Church was laid” (Qui pastor Dominicarum ovium est perpetuus constitutus, . . . in quo universalis ecclesiæ positum legimus fundamentum.—*Epist.* v. *Rufo Episc.*, n. 1. Galland. Tom. ix.)

St. Maximus of Turin :—“Peter found a grace greater than that which he had lost. **As a good Shepherd, he receives the flock to guard**, that he, who before had been weak in his own case, might become a support to all, . . . and a foundation to the rest by stability of faith” (Tanquam bonus pastor tuendum gregem accepit, ut fieret omnibus firmamentum, et . . . ceteros fidei stabilitate fundaret.—*Hom.* iv. de *Pet. Apost.* Bibl. Max. PP. T. vi. p. 24. In Migne’s edit., *Hom.* liv. p. 353). “This is **Peter**, to whom the Lord freely granted a communication of His own name. . . . This is **Peter, to whom Christ, when about to ascend to the Father, commits His lambs and His sheep to be fed**” (Hic est Petrus, cui Christus ascensurus ad Patrem pascendas oviculas suas agnosque commendat, ut quos ille pietatis miseratione redemerat, hic fidei suæ virtute servaret.—*In Natal. Ap. Pet. et Paul. Hom.* i. In Migne’s edit., *Hom.* lxviii. p. 394).

St. Cyril of Alexandria :—“Over the Church He sets Peter as Shepherd” (καὶ ταύτης ποιμένα τὸν Πέτρον ἐφίστησιν.—*In Matt.* xvi. Tom. v. p. 554, *Migne*).

St. Leo the Great :—“To whom, while the power of binding and loosing was given above the rest, yet was **the care of feeding the sheep more specially assigned**. To whom whoso thinks that

the Headship is to be denied, he can in no wise lessen the dignity of Peter, but, puffed up by the spirit of his own pride, he sinks himself down into hell" (*Cui cum præ ceteris solvendi et ligandi tradita sit potestas, pascendarum tamen ovium cura specialius mandata est. Cui quisquis principatum æstimat denegandum, illius quidem nullo modo potest minuere dignitatem: sed inflatus spiritu superbiæ suæ semetipsum in inferna demergit.—Epist. x. ad Episc. per Prov. Vienn. in causâ Hilarii, c. 2, ed. Baller.*) "**To the blessed Apostle Peter, above the others, after the Keys of the kingdom, is the care of the Lord's fold assigned**" (*Beato Apostolo Petro super ceteros, post regni claves, ovilis dominici cura mandatur.—Serm. lxxiii. de Ascens. Dom. n. 2.*) "Whereas Peter alone received many things, nothing passed unto any one without his participation in it. **Out of the whole world the one Peter is chosen to be set over both the calling of the nations, and over all the Apostles, and all the fathers of the Church; that although in the people of God there be many priests and many shepherds, Peter may rule all, as made his, whom Christ also rules by supreme headship**" (*De toto mundo unus eligitur Petrus, qui et universarum gentium vocationi et omnibus Apostolis cunctisque ecclesiæ patribus præponatur: ut quamvis in populo Dei multi sacerdotes multique pastores, omnes tamen proprie regat Petrus, quos principaliter regit et Christus.—Serm. iv. in Natal. Ord. c. 1.*)

St. Eucherius of Lyons :—"First He committed to him the *lambs*, then the *sheep*; because He constituted him not only Shepherd, but **the Shepherd of shepherds**. Therefore Peter feeds the lambs, he feeds also the sheep; he feeds the offspring, he feeds also the mothers; **he rules both subjects and prelates. He is the Shepherd, therefore, of all, because, besides lambs and sheep, there is nothing in the Church**" (*Non solum pastorem, sed pastorum pastorem eum constituit. . . . Regit et subditos et prælatos. Omnium igitur pastor est, quia præter agnos et oves in ecclesia nihil est.—Serm. de Natal. SS. Ap. Pet. et Paul.*)¹

St. Peter Chrysologus :—"When about to return to heaven, **He commends His sheep to be fed by Peter in His stead**" (*Vice suâ, ut pasceret, commendat.—Serm. in Ps. xcix. Bibl. Max. PP. Tom. vii. In Migne's ed. p. 220.*)

Arnobius Junior, A.D. 440 :—"Behold that succour is given to a penitent Apostle, who is **the Bishop of Bishops** (*Qui est epis-*

¹ This sermon has been attributed also to **Eusebius Emisenus** (*Bibl. Max. PP., Tom. vi. p. 697*), and to **St. Bruno**.

copus episcoporum), and a greater rank¹ is restored to him now weeping than was taken from him when he '*denied*.' That I may prove this, I show that **no other Apostle received the name of Shepherd**. For the Lord Jesus alone said, '*I am the Good Shepherd*,' and again, '*My sheep*,' He said, '*follow Me*.' **This holy name, therefore, and the power of the same name, He, after the resurrection, conceded to the penitent Peter**; and the Denied bestowed on him who denied Him this power which He alone had; that he might be proved not only to have recovered what he had lost, but also to have acquired much more by being penitent than he had lost by denying" (Illud ostendo, quod nullus apostolorum nomen pastoris accepit. . . . Hoc ergo nomen sanctum et ipsius nominis potestatem post resurrectionem suam Petro pœnitenti concessit, &c. — *Com. in Ps. cxxxviii.* Bibl. Max. PP., Tom. viii. p. 320).

St. Simplicius, Pope, A.D. 468:—“Him on whom the Lord enjoined the care of all the sheepfold” (Cui Dominus totius curam ovilis injunxit, cui se usque ad finem sæculi minime defuturum, cui portas inferi nunquam prævalituras esse promisit. — *Epist. iv. ad Basil. August.* Labbe, iv. p. 1071).

St. Gelasius, Pope (vide *supra*, p. 30).

Arator, A.D. 541:—“To whom the Lamb committed the sheep which He had rescued, and He enriches His flock, dispersed over the entire world, with this Shepherd” (Cui tradidit agnus quas passus salvavit oves, totumque per orbem hoc auget pastore gregem, quo munere summus surgit, &c. — *Hist. Apostolic.* Lib. i. v. 69, seq.)

St. Columbanus, A.D. 580:—The celebrated Irish Liturgy, known as the **Missal of St. Columbanus**² contains the following Collect, in the Mass assigned for the *Cathedra S. Petri*:—“O God! who on this day didst give to **St. Peter, after Thyself, the Headship of the whole Church**, we humbly pray Thee that, as **Thou didst constitute him Pastor for the safety of the flock**, and that Thy sheep might be preserved from error, so now Thou mayest save us through his intercession” (Deus qui . . . B. Petrum post Te

¹ **St. Chrysostom** says:—“Peter so washed away that denial as to be even made the First Apostle, and to have the whole world committed to him” (ὡς καὶ πρῶτος γενέσθαι τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ οἰκουμένην ἐγχειρισθῆναι ἅπασαν. — *Orat. viii. n. 3*).

² This Missal was discovered by the learned MABILLON at Bobbio, the MS. being then, as he declared, “more than 1000 years old” (*Mus. Ital.* vol. i. p. 275). For a full account of it, and proofs that both the Missal and the MS. itself are *Irish*, see Bp. MORAN'S *Essays on the Early Irish Church*, pp. 95, 96, 275-295.

dedisti caput Ecclesiæ. . . . Te supplices rogamus, ut qui dedisti pastorem, ne quid de ovibus perderes, et ut grex effugiat errores, &c.—*Museum Italicum*, vol. i. p. 297, a D. J. Mabillon, Paris. 1724).

St. Gregory the Great:—"By the voice of the Lord, **the care of the whole Church was committed to holy Peter, Prince of all the Apostles**; for to him it is said, '*Peter, lovest thou Me? feed my sheep*'" (Cunctis evangelium scientibus liquet, quod voce dominicâ sancto et omnium apostolorum principi Petro totius ecclesiæ cura commissa est, ipsi quippe dicitur, &c.—Lib. v. *Epist.* xx. *ad Mauriti. August.*)

V.—ST. PETER THE PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES, ETC.

The First of the Apostles¹—The Chosen One—The Head—The Chief—The Highest—The Leader—The Prince of all the Apostles—To whom had been intrusted the Government or Supremacy—Chief Pontiff of the Christians—Bishop of Bishops—Primate of all Bishops—Prince of the Whole Church—In whom the Government and Headship Reside—Prince of the Princes—Prince of the Episcopal Corona, &c., &c.—Who now and always Lives and Exercises Judgment in his Successors—Always Presides in his own See, and Shows the Truth of Faith to those Seeking it—Whose Dignity fails not in an Unworthy Heir—Who in all things Protects and has Regard to the Heirs of his Administration, &c.

St. Ignatius, A.D. 107:—"And when He came to **Peter and his company**, He said, 'Take, handle Me, and see that I am not an in-

¹ Wherever the Apostles are enumerated in the Gospels, St. Peter is invariably *named first*. St. Matthew expressly calls him "*the first*" (x. 2), the same Greek word, *πρῶτος*, being rendered "chief" in *chap.* xx. 27 and other passages of Scripture. Mr. ALLIES remarks:—"Now that *second* and *third* do not follow (in St. Matthew's enumeration), shows that '*first*' is not a numeral here, but designates rank and pre-eminence. Thus in heathen authors this word '*first*' by itself indicates the more excellent in its kind: thus in the Septuagint occur 'first-friend of the king,' 'first of the singers,' 'the first priest,' *i.e.*, the chief priest (*Nehem.* xii. 46; *2 Chron.* xxvi. 30). So our Lord: 'Whichever among you will be first' (*Matt.* xx. 27), 'Bring forth the first robe' (*Luke* xv. 22); and St. Paul, 'Sinners, of whom I am the first,' *i.e.*, chief (*1 Tim.* i. 15). Thus 'the first of the island' (*Acts* xxviii. 7), means the chief magistrate; and 'first' generally, in Latin phraseology, the superior or prince."—*St. Peter, his Name and Office, &c.*, p. 95, 2d ed. See also PASSAGLIA, *De Prærog. St. Petri*, p. 114.]

corporeal spirit" (*Καὶ ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον ἦλθεν*.¹—*Epist. ad Smyrn.* c. 3 ; et ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 36).

St. Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 190—"The blessed Peter, the Chosen, the Pre-eminent, the First of the disciples, for whom alone and Himself the Lord payed tribute" (*Ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος, ὁ ἐκλεκτός, ὁ ἐξάίρετος, ὁ πρῶτος τῶν μαθητῶν, ὑπὲρ οὗ μόνου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ τὸν φόρον ὁ Σωτὴρ ἐκτελεῖ*.—*Quis Dives Salvetur*, n. 21. Op., ed. Migne, p. 625.)

Tertullian :—"It was His pleasure to communicate to the most highly esteemed of His disciples, in a peculiar manner, a name drawn from the figures of Himself" (*Carissimo discipulorum de figuris suis peculiariter nomen communicare*.—*Adv. Marc.*, Lib. iv. c. 13).

Origen :—"Peter, the Prince of the Apostles" (*In Lucam Hom.* xvii. Tom. iii. p. 952). "More honoured than the rest" (*τῶν λοιπῶν τιμιώτερος*.—Tom. xxxii. in *Joann.* n. 5, Tom. iv. p. 413). On the words in *Matt.* xvii. 26, "Give (the tribute-money) unto them for Me and for thee," he remarks, that the disciples "considered that this was a very great favour to Peter on the part of Jesus, as having adjudged him greater² than the other disciples" (*κρίναντος αὐτὸν μείζονα τῶν λοιπῶν γνωρίμων*.—Tom. iii. in *Matt.* n. 14, Tom. iii. p. 588).

The Clementines :—"Set apart to be the Foundation of the Church, . . . the Chief of the Apostles" (*Τῆς ἐκκλησίας θεμέ-*

¹ Compare "Paul and his company," *οἱ περὶ Παῦλον*, *Acts* xiii. 13) ; "Thrasylbulus and his soldiers," *οἱ περὶ Θρασύβουλον* (*Thucid.* v. i. 18). The phrase used by St. Ignatius is similar to those so constantly used in the Gospels and Acts :—"Simon and they that were with him" (*Mark* i. 36) ; "Peter and they that were with him" (*Luke* viii. 45, ix. 32) ; "Peter, standing up with the eleven" (*Acts* ii. 14) ; "Peter and the other Apostles" (*Acts* ii. 37) ; "Peter and the Apostles" (*Acts* v. 29. See also *Mark* xvi. 7 ; *Acts* i. 15, &c.) ; and evidently indicates the superior dignity and authority of St. Peter. Compare the following :—"David and they that were with him" (*Luke* vi. 3 ; *Matt.* xii. 3) ; "He ordained twelve, that they should be with Him" (*Matt.* iii. 14) ; "Them that had been with Him" (*xvi.* 10. Comp. *Acts* iv. 13, 14).

² **St. Chrysostom**, on the same text, says :—"Dost thou see the exceeding greatness of the honour? See also the self-command of Peter's mind. For Mark, the follower of this Apostle, does not appear to have written down this point, because it pointed out the great honour paid to him (Peter) ; but whilst he also wrote of the denial, he has passed over in silence the things that made him illustrious ; his master, perhaps, entreating him not to mention the great things about himself" (*Hom.* 58 in *Matt.* n. 2). **Eusebius** makes a similar remark in regard to St. Mark's omission of the words recorded in *Matt.* xvi. 18, 19 :—"Such great things having been said to Peter, Mark mentions nothing of them ;

λῖος εἶναι ὀρισθεὶς, . . . ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρῶτος.¹—*Epist. Clement. ad Jacob.* Galland. ii. p. 611).

St. Cyprian :—Peter, whom the Lord chose to be **First or Chief**" (Quem primum Dominus elegit.—*Epist. lxxi. ad Quintum*). "**The Primacy is given to Peter**" (Primatus Petro datur.—*De Unitate Eccles.*) See the context and *note* in previous section.

Auctor de Rebaptismate, A.D. 354 :—"Peter, the Leader and Chief of the Apostles" (*Auct. de Rebapt. n. 9.* Galland. iii. p. 366).

St. Peter of Alexandria, A.D. 304 :—"Peter, set above the Apostles" (Ὁ πρόκριτος τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρος.—*Canon Pœnitent. n. 9.* Galland. iv. ; et ap. Hardouin, *Concil. Tom. i. p. 229*).

Eusebius :—"The Apostle Peter, the first Pontiff of the Christians" (Primus Pontifex Christianorum.—*Chron. ad Ann. 44, Interp. Hieron. Op. Hieron. Tom. viii. p. 578*). "That powerful and great one of the Apostles, who, on account of his excellence, was the **Leader of all the rest**" (Τὸν καρτερὸν καὶ μέγαν τῶν ἀποστόλων . . . τῶν λοιπῶν ἀπάντων προήγορον.—*Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. c. 14*). "**The very Head of the Apostles**" (Αὐτός τε ὁ κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων Πέτρος.—*Com. in Ps. lxviii. 9, Tom. v. p. 737, ed.*

neither did Peter name them in his discourses. Probably, therefore, Peter thought it right to pass these things in silence, and Mark consequently omits them ; but, as regards his denial, he published it to all men" (*Demons. Evang. Lib. iii. c. 4*).

Of St. Mark's Gospel **Tertullian** says :—"The Gospel which Mark published *may be affirmed to be Peter's*, whose interpreter Mark was" (*Adv. Marcion. Lib. iv. c. 5*). It is asserted by other authorities (viz., by **Papias**, ap. *Euseb. Hist. Ecc. iii. 39* ; **Irenæus**, *Lib. iii. c. i.* ; **Clement of Alexandria**, ap. *Euseb. ii. 15* ; **Origen**, ap. *Euseb. vi. 25* ; **Jerome**, *De Vir. Illust. c. 8* ; *Epist. ad Hedib. c. 2* ; **Epiphanius**, *Hær. 51*), that St. Mark wrote his Gospel under the eye of St. Peter ; and that it was written at the request of the Christians at Rome, who heard St. Peter preach there.

¹ In the Ebionite writings attributed to St. CLEMENT the prerogatives of St. Peter are generally transferred to St. James, Bp. of Jerusalem, who is represented as "Bishop of bishops," and Ruler of the Churches. This fact renders the more remarkable the testimony to St. Peter's prerogatives cited in the text. It would seem that, in order to obtain acceptance for these pseudo-Clementine writings, the Ebionite heretics, notwithstanding their prejudice in favour of St. James and of Jerusalem, were unable openly to impugn the prerogatives of St. Peter or to deny the establishment of his Episcopal Cathedra in Rome. All that they could hope to do was to make it appear that his successor, St. Clement I., had been their hero and founder, after St. James.

In regard to the honorary titles given to St. JAMES, the Lord's brother, and first Bishop of Jerusalem, see Fr. Tondini de Quarenghi's *Primacy of St. Peter demonstrated from the Liturgy of the Græco-Russian Church*, pp. 114-126.

Migne). **"Set above all the rest"** (Ὁ πάντων αὐτῶν προεκκριμένος.—*Demons. Evang. Lib. iii. c. 5*).

St. Anthony, A.D. 330:—"The Prince of the Apostles" (Princeps apostolorum.—*Epist. xvii. Galland. iv. p. 687*).

St. James of Nisibis:—"Simon, the Head of the Apostles" (*Orat. vii. de Pœnitent. n. 6. Galland. Tom. v.; et in ed. Romæ, 1756, p. 243*).

St. Hilary:—"The Prince of the Apostolate" (Apostolatûs princeps.—*In Matt. vii. 6, p. 701*).

St. Athanasius:—"Peter, the Chief" (ὁ κορυφαῖος.—*In Ps. xv. 8, Tom. iii. p. 106, Migne*).

St. Cyril of Jerusalem:—"Peter, the Chiefest and foremost Leader of the Apostles" (Πέτρος ὁ κορυφαίτατος καὶ πρωτοστάτης τῶν ἀποστόλων.—*Catech. Mystag. ii. n. 19, ed. Ben. Migne, p. 31*). **"The Prince of the Apostles, and chief Herald of the Church"** (Ὁ πρωτοστάτης τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας κορυφαῖος κήρυξ.—*Catech. xi. n. 3*).

St. Optatus of Milevis:—"The Head of all the Apostles" (Omnium apostolorum caput Petrus.—*De Schism. Donat. Lib. ii. c. 2, ed. Hurter, p. 76*). **"Peter our Prince"** (Claves salutare accepisse legimus Petrum, principem scilicet nostrum.—*Ib. c. 4, p. 80*). **"For the good of unity, blessed Peter deserved to be preferred to all the Apostles"** (Bono unitatis, . . . præferri omnibus apostolis meruit.—*Lib. vii. c. 3, p. 243*). **"The Head of the Apostles"** (Caput apostolorum.—*Ib. p. 245*).

St. Ephræm Syrus:—"The Prince of the Apostles" (Tom. ii. *Serm. Syr. lvi. adv. Hær. p. 559*). **"The Chief of the Apostles"** (*Ib. Serm. Gr. in Adv. Dom. p. 203*). **"O thou blessed one, that obtainedst the place of the Head and of the Tongue in the body of thy brethren"** (*Bibl. Orient. Tom. i. p. 95*). **"Peter merited to receive from Christ the Vicarship over His people"** (*Serm. de Mart. Apost. Pet. et Paul. Cod. Vatican. cxcix. ex. Syr. ap. David, op. cit. p. 26*).

St. Gregory of Nyssa:—"Appointed the Leader and Coryphæus of the Apostolic Choir, . . . Peter, the Head of the Apostles" (Ὁ πρωτοστάτης καὶ κορυφαῖος τῆς ἀποστολικῆς χορείας, . . . ἡ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων.—*Alt. Orat. de S. Steph. Tom. iii. pp. 730-733*).

St. Gregory of Nazianzum:—"The most honoured of the disciples" (τὸν τιμιώτατον τῶν μαθητῶν.—*Orat. xix. n. 13, Tom.*

i. p. 372). “Had intrusted to him the very greatest things” (τὰ μέγιστα.—*Orat.* xxviii. n. 19, ib. p. 510). “Peter, the Chief of the disciples” (Πέτρος μαθητῶν ἄκρος.—*Carm. Theol.* Lib. ii. sect. i., *Carm.* xii. *de Seipso*, v. 222).

St. Macarius of Egypt:—“The Chief, Peter” (τῷ κορυφαίῳ Πέτρῳ.—*De Pœnitent.* n. 3. Galland. vii. p. 180). “Moses was succeeded by Peter,¹ who had committed to his hands the new Church of Christ and the true priesthood” (Πέτρος Μωσέα διεδέξατο, τὴν καινὴν ἐκκλησίαν Χριστοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀληθινὴν ἱεροσύνην ἐγχειρισθείς.—*Hom.* xxvi. n. 23, p. 101).

St. Basil the Great:—“Peter, who was preferred before all the disciples” (Ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος, ὁ πάντων μὲν τῶν μαθητῶν προκριθείς, μόνος δὲ πλείον τῶν ἄλλων μαρτυρηθείς καὶ μακαρισθείς.—*De Judic. Dei*, n. 7, Tom. ii. p. 221).

St. Epiphanius:—“Andrew was the first to meet Christ, inasmuch as Peter was the younger in age. But . . . Peter became a Leader to his own brother. And God sees the dispositions of the heart, and knowing who is worthy to be appointed unto Presidency, He also chose Peter to be the Leader of His disciples, as in

¹ “That which most clearly shows,” says Bishop DAVID, “the belief of the ancient Syriac Church regarding St. Peter’s divinely established prerogatives, is the grand comparison which in the liturgical books of that Church is drawn between him and Moses—St. Peter being represented as the Institutor and Founder of the New Law, as Moses was of the Old. Thus:—‘MOSES WAS THE HEAD OF THE OLD LAW, PETER OF THE NEW. . . . MOSES, coming down from the Mount, bore the tables of the Law; but PETER received the Keys of the kingdom. MOSES built the Tabernacle of the Covenant; SIMON THE CHURCH’ (*In Feriali Breviario, Ferie iia Nocturn.* ii., ed. Romæ, 1853, p. 127). In another Office the Church thus prays to Christ:—‘To the priests WHOM SIMON INSTITUTED, grant that they may becomingly minister to Thee, *in the place of those priests instituted by Moses*, who raised and fixed Thee to the Cross’ (*In Off. Hebdom. S. Ferie iia Noct.* i. Cod. lx. p. 13, int. Nov. S. Cong. de Prop. Fide Cod.).”

In the work entitled *Roma Sotterranea* (Part ii. ed. 1879), by Dr. NORTHCOTE and Canon BROWNLOW, and in MARTIGNY’S *Dict. des Antiquités Chrétiennes* (Paris, 1865, pp. 540, 541, 412), an account is given of the sarcophagi, gilded glasses, &c., found in the **Catacombs at Rome**, in many of which *St. Peter is represented under the type of Moses*. Thus, in a sarcophagus described in *Roma Sotter.* p. 256, St. Peter appears “receiving, with hands reverently veiled, the New Law from the Mediator of the New Testament, just as heathen magistrates were wont to receive from the emperors the book of the constitutions whereby they were to govern the province committed to their charge. Often, in similar representations, our Lord is represented as giving the volume to the Apostle, but saying nothing. . . . Here again we see St. Peter represented as the Moses of the new dispensation, and every such discovery increases the probability that in

every way has been clearly shown" (*Γινώσκων τίς ἐν πρώτοις ἄξιος τάττεσθαι, καὶ ἐξελέξατο τὸν Πέτρον ἀρχηγὸν εἶναι τῶν αὐτοῦ μαθητῶν.*—*Adv. Hær.* 51, n. 17, Tom. i. p. 440). "The very Chief of the disciples" (*Ὁ κορυφαίωτατος τῶν ἀποστόλων.*—*Adv. Hær.* 59, n. 7, p. 500).

Ambrosiaster:—"Andrew followed the Saviour before Peter; and yet not Andrew but **Peter obtained the Primacy**" (Prior sequutus est Andreas Salvatorem quam Petrus; et tamen primatum non accepit Andreas, sed Petrus.—*Com. in Epist. ad Corinth.* xii. 12. Int. Op. S. Ambros., ed. Bened. Migne). On *Galat.* i. 18 he says: "It was fitting that he (Paul) should desire to '*see Peter*,' because he was **the First among the Apostles, and to him the Saviour had delegated the care of the Churches**" (Dignum fuit ut cuperet videre Petrum, quia primus erat inter Apostolos, cui delegaverat Salvator curam ecclesiarum.—*Com. in Galat.* i. 18, ib.)

Faustinus, A.D. 383:—"Prince of the Apostles" (*De Trinit.* c. 5, n. 3. Galland. T. vii.)

St. Andrew of Cæsarea, A.D. 387:—"The Chief of the Apostles" (*In Apocal.* c. 37, Bibl. Max. PP., T. v. p. 613).

all other representations also of Moses, the Chief Apostle was really meant to be understood."

Speaking of the "gilded glasses found in the Catacombs," many of which contain representations of SS. Peter and Paul (N.B. *pictures* of SS. Peter and Paul are mentioned by Eusebius, *Hist. Eccles.* vii. 18, Augustine, *De Consens. Evang.* i. 10), the authors say:—"St. Peter is generally at the right hand, but by no means always so; and if any one attempts to prove from this that the Roman Christians looked upon the two Apostles as in all respects equal and co-ordinate, he is met by the fact—First, that our Lord Himself is found once standing on the left of St. Paul; St. Agnes, too, in the place of honour, when she appeared with the Blessed Virgin; and husbands often placed on the left of their wives. Moreover, Pagan artists, when they placed Jupiter between Juno and Minerva, observe the same indifference as to the relative position of the two goddesses; and the Seal of the Papal Bulls to this day represents St. Peter on the left hand. And secondly, that the Primacy of St. Peter is distinctly attested in some of these glasses by another symbol which can hardly be misunderstood. We mean those in which he appears *under the type of Moses striking the rock*. The rock, of course, at once suggests the passage of St. Paul, 'They drank of that spiritual rock which followed them, and that rock was Christ;' but we should hardly have ventured to affirm that the figure striking the rock was St. PETER, if his name had not, in two instances at least, been unmistakably given at his side. . . . These invaluable glasses supply us with a key to many of the paintings in the Catacombs and sculptures in Christian sarcophagi, where the same scene is so frequently repeated. They show us that *St. Peter was considered to be the Moses of the new Israel of God*, as Prudentius speaks, and they explain why the *Rod*, the emblem of Divine power, is never found except in three hands—those of Moses, Christ, and Peter" (*Roma Sotterran.* P. ii. pp. 313-315).

St. Jerome :—"Peter, the first Pontiff of the Christians" (Primus Pontifex Christianorum.—*Chron. Euseb. ad Ann.* 44, Tom. viii. p. 578). "**The Prince of the Apostles**" (Princeps Apostolorum.—*Dial. adv. Pelagian.* n. 14. See also *De Vir. Illust.* c. 1; *Lib. xiv. in Isai.* c. lii.; *Com. in Epist. ad Galat.* i. 1; *Epist. cxii. ad August.*¹ n. 6). "**Out of the twelve One is chosen, in order that, by the institution of a Head, the occasion of schism might be removed**" (Inter duodecim unus elegitur, ut, capite constituto, schismatis tollatur occasio.—*Adv. Jovinian.*, Lib. i. n. 26, Tom. ii. p. 279).

St. Chrysostom :—"The Chief of the Apostles, the First in the Church" (*Ἡ κορυφὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων, ὁ πρῶτος ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.*—*Hom. iv. de Pœnitent.* n. 4, Tom. ii.) "**Peter it was to whom had been intrusted the Government**" (*Τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐγκεχειρισμένος.*—*Hom. xxxiii. in Act.* n. 2, Tom. ix.) "**He intrusted to his hands the Primacy over the Universal Church**" (*Τὴν ἐπιστάσιν τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐνεχείρισε.*—*Hom. v. de Pœnitent.* n. 2, Tom. ii.) On 1 *Cor.* i. 12 he says: "Not honouring himself before Peter has he (Paul) set him last, but preferring Peter even greatly before himself. For he has arranged his statement on an ascending scale" (*Hom. iii. in Ep. i. ad Cor.* n. 2, Tom. x.) On 1 *Cor.* ix. 5 he says:—"See his (Paul's) wisdom; he puts the Chief (τὸν κορυφαῖον) last, for the strongest of the heads of argument are reserved for that place" (*Hom. xxi.* n. 2, Tom. x.)

St. Asterius :—"The First disciple, and greater than the brethren" (πρῶτος μαθητῆς καὶ μείζων τῶν ἀδελφῶν). "Blessed indeed was the great John, who reposed on the Lord's bosom; great too was James, as being called the son of thunder; illustrious was Philip; but yet they all must yield to Peter, and confess that they hold the second place, when the comparison of gifts decides the one honoured above the rest, . . . the greatest of the Apostles" (ἀλλ' ὁμῶς οἱ πάντες ὑποχωρεῖτωσαν Πέτρῳ καὶ δευτερεύειν ὁμολογείτωσαν, ὅταν ἡ τῶν χαρισμάτων σύγκρισις δοκιμάζῃ τὸν προτιμο-

¹ Speaking of St. Peter's speech at the Council of Jerusalem (*Acts xv.*), **St. Jerome** says that "James the Apostle and all the priests at the same time passed over to his opinion," and that Peter "was the author of the decree" therein promulgated (Petrus principem fuisse hujus decreti.—*Epist. cxii.* n. 7). **Tertulian** says: "This sentence (of Peter) both loosed those things of the Law which were given up, and bound those things that were retained" (*De Pudicit.* n. 21). **Theodore**t says that the controversy was referred by St. Paul to St. Peter, that by his authority it might be definitively settled (*Epist. cxiii. Leoni*).

τερον. . . . Τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν ἀποστόλων.—*Hom. in SS. Pet. et Paul.* Patr. Gr., Migne, Tom. xl. pp. 274, 277).

St. Siricius, Pope, A.D. 386 :—"Peter, through whom both the **Apostleship and the Episcopate in Christ took their beginning**" (Per quem et apostolatus et episcopatus in Christo coepit exordium.—*Ad Afric. Episc., Epist.* v. n. 1. Galland. T. vii.)

St. Augustine :—"Who can be ignorant that the most blessed Peter is the **First of the Apostles?**" (Quis enim nescit primum Apostolorum esse beatissimum Petrum?—*In Joann. Tract.* lvi. n. 1, Tom. iii.) "Peter, by reason of the **Primacy of his Apostolate**, personified the Universal Church" (*Ib. Tract.* cxxiv. n. 5). "**Hold-ing the Principality of the apostleship, . . . in the order of apostles the First and the Principal**" (*Serm.* lxxvi. n. 4, Tom. v.) "**In whom the Primacy of the Apostleship is pre-eminent by so excel-lent a grace. . . . Who knows not that that Principality of the Apostleship is to be preferred to any Episcopate whatsoever? . . . The grace of the Chairs (of Peter and of Cyprian) is different**" (Petrum, in quo primatus Apostolorum tam excellenti gratia præeminet. . . . Quis quim nescit illum apostolatus principatum cuilibet episcopatu præferendum? . . . Distat Cathedrarum gratia.—*De Bapt. cont. Donat.* Lib. ii. n. 2, Tom. ix.)

Prudentius :—"The Highest disciple of God" (Summus Dei discipulus.—*Cont. Symmachum*, Lib. ii. Galland. Tom. viii. p. 509). "**Possessing the First Chair**, he (Peter) throws open the gates of eternity that have been intrusted to him" (Cathedram possidens primam, recludit creditas æternitatis januas.—*Hymn.* ii. in *S. Lau-rent.* Ib., p. 440).

Cassian :—"The Highest, both as disciple among disciples, and teacher among teachers; who, ruling the helm of the Roman Church, as he had the Supremacy of faith, so also had he the **supremacy of the priesthood. . . . Prince of the Apostles, . . . the Highest Apostle**" (Qui Romanæ Ecclesiæ gubernaculum regens, sicut fidei habuit, ita et sacerdotii principatum.—*De Incarnat.* Lib. iii. c. 12. Bibl. Max. Patr. Tom. vii.)

St. Innocent, Pope, A.D. 410 :—"The Apostle from whom the Episcopate itself, and the whole authority of this name, has sprung" (A quo ipse Episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis hujus emersit.—*Epist.* xxix. ad *Concil. Carth.* n. 1. Galland. Tom. viii.) "As often as a principle of faith is ventilated, I am of opinion that all our brethren and fellow-bishops should refer only to Peter, that is, to the **Author of their name and dignity**" (Præsertim quoties

fidei ratio ventilatur, arbitror omnes fratres et co-episcopos nostros nonnisi ad Petrum, id est sui nominis et honoris auctorem referre debere.—*Epist. xxx. ad Concil. Milev. n. 1*).

St. Zosimus, Pope, A.D. 417:—"He has the charge of all Churches, and especially of this (of Rome) in which he sat" (Habet enim ipse, cum omnium ecclesiarum, tum hujus maxime ubi sederat curam.—*Epist. xii. ad Episc. Afric. n. 1. Galland. Tom. ix.*)

St. Boniface, Pope:—"Peter, to whom the highest place of the priesthood was granted by the voice of the Lord" (Cui arx sacerdotii Dominicâ voce concessa est.—*Epist. iv. Rufo, n. 1. Ib.*)

General Council of Ephesus:—"The blessed Peter, the Head of the whole faith, and even of the Apostles" (*Ἡ κεφαλὴ ὅλης τῆς πίστεως, ἡ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος.*—*Act. ii. Labbe, Tom. iii. p. 619; Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 1471*). "The Prince and Head of the Apostles" (*Ὁ ἑξάρχος καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἀποστόλων.*—*Act. iii. Labbe, p. 625; Hardouin, p. 1477*).

St. Cyril of Alexandria:—"Set over the holy disciples" (*τῶν ἁγίων προεκκείμενος μαθητῶν*); "the Prince of the holy disciples" (*ὁ τῶν ἁγίων μαθητῶν πρόκριτος Πέτρος*); "Prince of the Apostles" (*ὁ τῶν ἀποστόλων πρόκριτος*); "the Leader" (*Ἡγούμενος*).—*In Joann. Lib. x. Tom. vii. p. 924; Ib. Lib. xii. p. 1064; Thesaur. Tom. viii. p. 340; Hom. viii. de Fest. Pasch. Tom. x. P. ii. p. 105, ed. Aubert, Migne*).

St. Maximus of Turin:—"Of how great merit, then, was Peter with his God, that, after rowing his little boat, the Government of the whole Church was committed to him" (Ut ei post naviculæ parvæ remigium, totius Ecclesiæ gubernacula traderentur. *Hom. iii. in Natal. Apost. Pet. et Paul. Bibl. Max. PP. Tom. vi. In Migne's ed. Hom. lxx. p. 399*).

Theodoret:—"That divine Peter, the Coryphæus of the Apostles" (*ὁ κορυφαῖος.*—*In Ps. ii. Tom. i. p. 616, ed. Scholz*). "The First of the Apostles" (*Hist. Relig. c. ii. Tom. iii. p. 1127*). "The First and the Coryphæus of the Choir of the Apostles" (*Epist. lxxxvi. ad Flavian. Tom. iv. p. 1157*). On 1 *Galat. i. 18* he says:—"He (Paul) renders due honour to the Head" (*τὴν πρέπουσαν ἀπονέμει τῷ κορυφαίῳ τιμὴν.*—*Com. in loc. Tom. iii. p. 365*).

St. Proclus, A.D. 438:—"The Head of the disciples, and the one set over the Apostles" (*ὁ τῶν μαθητῶν κορυφαῖε, καὶ*

πρωτοστάτα τῶν ἀποστόλων.—*Orat.* viii. in *Transfig. Dom.* n. 2. Galland. Tom. ix.)

St. Basil of Seleucia, A.D. 446 :—"Peter, that Coryphæus of the Apostles, that Ruler of the disciples of Christ" (Πέτρος τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ κορυφαῖος, ὁ τῶν Χριστοῦ μαθητῶν προστάτης.—*Orat.* xvii. ; ap. Op. S. Greg. Thaum., Paris, 1622, p. 97).

Arnobius Junior calls St. Peter "the Bishop of bishops" (Episcopus episcoporum.—*Com. in Ps.* cxxxviii. Bibl. Max. Patr. Tom. viii. p. 320).

St. Nilus, A.D. 448 :—"The Head of the choir of the Apostles" (*Lib.* ii. *Epist.* ccli. Bibl. Max. Tom. xxvi.) "Peter, who was foremost in the choir of the Apostles, and always ruled amongst them" (*Tract. ad Magnam*, c. 8. Ib., p. 244).

The **Emperor Valentinian III.**, A.D. 455, calls St. Peter "the Prince of the circle of Bishops" (Princeps episcopalis coronæ.—*In Constit. de Episc. Ord.*)

St. Cæsarius of Arles, A.D. 502 :—"As from the person of the blessed Apostle Peter the Episcopate took its beginning, so is it necessary that your Holiness (Pope Symmachus) should plainly show by competent rules to the different Churches what they are to observe" (Sicut a personâ B. Petri Apostoli Episcopatus sumpsit initium, ita necesse est, &c.—*Epist.* xiv. n. 2. Labbe, Tom. v. p. 424).

St. Siricius, Pope, A.D. 386 :—"I bear the burdens of all who are heavily laden ; yea, rather in me that burden is borne by the blessed Apostle Peter, who, we trust, in all things protects and has regard to Us who are the Heirs of his Government" (Hæc portat in nobis B. Apostolus Petrus, qui nos in omnibus, ut confidimus, administrationis suæ protegit et tuetur heredes.—*Epist.* i. ad *Himer. Tarrac. Episc.* n. 1. Galland. Tom. vii.)

General Council of Ephesus :—"The Prince and Head of the Apostles, . . . who even until now, and always, Lives and Judges in his Successors" ("Οστις ἕως τοῦ νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ διαδόχοις καὶ ζῇ καὶ δικάζει.—*Act.* iii. Labbe, Tom. iii. p. 625).

St. Xystus III., Pope, A.D. 434 :—"The blessed Peter, in his Successors, has delivered that which he received.¹ Who would be willing to separate himself from his doctrine, whom the Master Himself declared the First among the Apostles?" (B. Petrus in

¹ **Pope Julius**, to the Eusebians, A.D. 342 :—"THE THINGS WHICH WE HAVE RECEIVED FROM THE BLESSED APOSTLE PETER, these I make known to you also" ("Α παρειλήφαμεν παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ταῦτα καὶ ὑμῖν δηλῶ.—*Epist. ad Eusebian.* n. 22, ap. S. Athanas. *Apol. cont. Arian.* n. 35).

successoribus suis, quod accepit, hoc tradidit.—*Epist. vi. ad Joan. Antioch.* n. 5. Galland. Tom. ix.)

St. Peter Chrysologus, A.D. 440:—"We exhort you (Eutyches) that you in all things obediently attend to those things which have been written by the blessed Pope of the city of Rome; because blessed Peter, who Lives and Presides in his own See, gives the truth of faith to those seeking it" (Quoniam B. Petrus, qui in propriâ sede vivit et præsidet, præstat quærentibus fidei veritatem.—*Epist. ad Eutech.* Op. ed. Bacchin. 1758, p. 16; *et ap. S. Leonis Mag. Op.*, ed. Baller. Tom. i.)

General Council of Chalcedon:—"Peter hath spoken by Leo" (*Act. ii.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 368). "Thou (Leo) art appointed unto all men Interpreter of the Voice of blessed Peter" (πᾶσι τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου φωνῆς ἑρμηνεὺς καθιστάμενος.—*Epist. Synod. ad Leonem.* Ib. p. 834).

St. Leo the Great:—"Peter, . . . not only the Prelate of this See (Rome), but the Primate of all Bishops" (Omnium episcoporum primatem.—*Serm. iii. de Natal. Ord.* c. 4). "**The Prince of the whole Church**" (Totius ecclesiæ principem.—*Serm. iv. c. 4*). "Our care is extended throughout all the Churches, this being required of us by the Lord, who committed the Primacy of the Apostolic dignity to the most blessed Apostle Peter, in reward of his faith, establishing the Universal Church on the solidity of him, the Foundation" (Per omnes ecclesias cura nostra dirigitur, exigente hoc a nobis Domino, qui apostolicæ dignitatis B. Apostolo Petro primatum fidei suæ remuneratione commisit, universalem ecclesiam in fundamenti ipsius soliditate constituens.—*Epist. v. ad Episc. Metrop. per Illyric. Constit.* c. 2). "In whose See his own power lives and authority is pre-eminent" (Cujus in sede suâ vivit potestas et excellit auctoritas.—*Serm. iii. in Natal. Ord.* c. 3). "**The whole Church acknowledges Peter in the See of Peter**" (*Serm. ii. c. 2*). "**Whose dignity fails not in an unworthy heir**" (Cujus dignitas etiam in indigno herede non deficit.—*Serm. iii. c. 4*). "**The blessed Peter ceases not to preside over his own See, and he enjoys never-ceasing fellowship with the everlasting High-Priest Christ. For that solidity which, when he was made the Rock, he received from Christ the Rock, transmitted itself to his heirs**" (Sedi suæ præesse non desinit, et indeficiens obtinet cum æterno sacerdote consortium. Soliditas enim illa, quam de Petra Christo etiam ipse petra factus accepit, in suos quoque se transfudit hæredes.—*Serm. v. c. 4*, ed. Ballerin.)

PART II.

I.—THE FOUNDATION OF ST. PETER'S SEE IN ROME;
ITS PRIVILEGE OF INERRANCY, &c.

The Church of Rome Founded and Instructed by St. Peter,¹ who was its first Bishop—Called by the Fathers The Apostolic See, The Apostolic Chair, The Apostolic Throne—The See, Chair, Throne, or Place of Peter—The Rock of the Church—The See to which Heresy cannot gain access—Which has ever remained free from the taint of Heresy—The See of Faith—In which the True Faith is never troubled—And Religion has always been preserved without spot, &c., &c.

St. Clement of Rome, A.D. 96:—"Let us have before our eyes the excellent Apostles. **Peter**, through unjust envy, underwent

¹ The Scriptural evidence bearing on this subject is ably treated by Dr. DOLLINGER in his *First Age of the Church* (Eng. trans. 2d ed. pp. 94-99). It may be well to remind the reader that St. PAUL had not been in Rome before he wrote his Epistle to the Church there established (see *Rom.* i. 10-13; xv. 22, 23). By whom, then, had that Church been founded?—a Church so well-ordered and renowned that, as he declares, its "*faith was spoken of throughout the whole world*" (*Rom.* i. 8); it was "*full of goodness, filled with all knowledge*" (xv. 14); and "*its obedience had come abroad unto all men*" (xvi. 19).| Clearly by St. PETER, for the records of Christian antiquity point to no other Founders and Teachers of the Church of Rome than St. PETER and St. PAUL.

Papias (A.D. 120) and **Clement of Alexandria** (A.D. 190), according to **Eusebius**, maintained that St. Peter wrote his First Epistle from ROME, which he figuratively calls "**BABYLON**" (*ἡ ἐπιστολὴν καὶ συντάξει φάσιν ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ῥώμης.*—*Hist. Ecclesiast.* Lib. ii. c. 15). **St. Jerome** says: "Et Papias, Hierapolitanus episcopus, meminit hujus Marci, et Petrus in epistolâ primâ, *sub nomine Babylonis figuraliter Romam significans*" (*De Vir. Illust. ad Marcum*). The learned Protestant GROTIVS says, in a note on 1 *Pet.* v. 13: "Ancient and modern interpreters differ about this '*Babylon.*' The ancients understood *Rome*, where that Peter was no true Christian will doubt" (*veteres Romam interpretantur, ubi Petrum fuisse nemo verus Christianus dubitabit*). See also WHITBY (*in loc.*), MILL (*Prolegom.* n. 59, 60), and LARDNER (*Hist. of the Apost. and Evang.* ch. xix. sect. 3). The work of the last-named author is republished in vol. ii. of Bp. Watson's *Theological Tracts*. In *Smith's Dict. of the Bible*, vol. ii. p. 805, it

not one or two, but many sufferings, and thus, being martyred,¹ went to the place of glory that was due to him. Through envy did

is said that "The all but unanimous opinion of ancient commentators, that ROME is designated, has been adopted, and maintained with great ingenuity and some very able arguments, by SCHAFF (*Geschichte der Christlichen Kirche*, p. 300), NEANDER, STEIGER, DE WETTE, and WIESELER." Dean ALFORD calls it "a very general opinion among not only Roman Catholic, but also other commentators. It is held by GROTIUS, LARDNER, CAVE, WHITBY, MACKNIGHT, HALES, CLUDIUS, MYNSTER, WINDISCHMANN, al.; and recently WIESINGER" (ALFORD'S *Greek Test.* vol. iii. Proleg. ch. iii.)

There were very good reasons why St. LUKE, in the *Acts*, should refrain from writing about St. Peter's labours in Rome after his escape from prison (*Acts* xii. 17), and why St. PAUL also, in his *Epistle to the Romans*, and in those epistles afterwards written from Rome, should avoid saying anything about the establishment of the *Cathedra Petri* in the Imperial City.

Had they done so, and had their writings fallen into the hands of the heathen authorities; had it been openly announced to the latter that the VICAR OF CHRIST had taken up his abode or was founding his Throne in the very centre of the Roman Empire (which empire, according to ancient prophecy, was to fall before "the Stone cut out without hands," the Kingdom of the Messias—*Dan.* ii. 35, 44; comp. *John* xii. 31, 32; *Rom.* xvi. 20); who can doubt that the arrest and martyrdom of St. Peter would have been the inevitable and immediate result?

The fact that St. MARK, who, according to the testimony of all antiquity (see Lardner's *Hist. of the Apost. and Evang.* ch. vii.), was St. Peter's constant companion at Rome, and wrote his Gospel for the Christians of that city under St. Peter's direct supervision, omitted all those matters, recorded by the other Evangelists, which would bring the Supremacy of that Apostle into prominent view, further illustrates that *policy of reserve* which, in the days of persecution, and under the eye of the Roman authorities, the Scripture writers thought it necessary to maintain in regard to St. Peter's residence in Rome, and position there as Head of the Christian Church.

Thus—(1.) Our Lord's words declaring Peter to be the Rock of the Church and Key-bearer of the Kingdom (*Matt.* xvi. 17, 18) are omitted by St. Mark, though the preceding and following parts of His discourse are related by him (*Mark* viii. 29, 30). (2.) The account of the tribute-money collectors coming "to Peter," and of Christ's commissioning him to work the miracle by getting the money out of the fish's mouth, and saying to him, "That give unto them *for Me and thee*" (*Matt.* xvii. 24, 27), is omitted by St. Mark. (3.) Also Christ's special prayer for Peter, and His charge to him to "*confirm his brethren*" in the faith (*Luke* xxii. 31, 32). (4.) His zeal for Christ, as shown by his cutting off the ear of the high priest's servant (*John* xviii. 10), is merely mentioned by St. Mark as the act of "*a certain one of them that stood by*" (ch. xiv. 47). (5.) His appointment by Christ as Supreme Pastor of His sheep (*John* xxi. 15-17) is altogether omitted by St. Mark; and (6.) The prediction of his martyrdom, recorded by St. John in ch. xxi. 18, 19.

¹ It was clearly foretold to ST. PETER that he should, in his martyrdom by crucifixion, "*glorify God*" (*John* xxi. 18, 19). The *place* where he did so must consequently have been well known in the early Church. But *no other place than Rome* was ever mentioned or thought of by any ancient writer as the one where Peter thus glorified God by his martyrdom. ST. CLEMENT, in his *Epistle to the*

Paul also receive the reward of patience, . . . when, after he had taught the whole world righteousness, and had come to the borders of the West, he suffered martyrdom under the rulers" (*Epist. i. ad Corinth. n. 5*). See *Patres Apostolici*, ed. Funk, Tubing. 1878, p. 67, seq., and Jungmann's *Dissert. Select. in Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. pp. 60-63.

St. Ignatius of Antioch, A.D. 107:—"I do not issue commands to you (Romans) as did Peter and Paul" (*Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.*—*Epist. ad Rom. n. 4*). Also in the Syriac version (*Corp. Ignatian.* ed. Cureton, p. 48). These words evidently imply that St. Peter and St. Paul had in person taught and given their commands to the Christians in Rome.¹

St. Hegesippus, A.D. 160:—"When I was at Rome, I compiled a succession (of the Bishops in that See) to the time of Anicetus" (*Γενόμενος δὲ ἐν Ῥώμῃ, διαδοχὴν ἐποίησάμην μέχρις Ἀνικλήτου.*—*Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. iv. c. 22*). "Hegesippus means that the list of Bishops compiled by him at Rome was drawn from the authentic records of the Church there" (*Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.* vol. ii. p. 876). That **St. Peter** headed this list (now lost) is evident from the *Chronicle* and *History* of **Eusebius**,

Corinthians, evidently alludes to his martyrdom there as an event too recent and too notorious to require from him any special mention or details (see LARDNER, in Watson's *Theol. Tracts*, vol. ii. p. 436).

Mr. HOLLAND, in his work on *The Apostolic Fathers*, published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, admits that Clement sets St. PETER "at the very head of all the magnificent exemplars with which the Church had endowed the world; he is spoken of as the Champion, and the proud possession of the very Church over which he (St. Clement) presides; it is implied that his heroic death is within memory; in it St. Paul is his nearest companion" (*The Apost. Fath.*, p. 112; see also pp. 66, 79).

¹ The Protestant BARRATIER, cited with approval by Dr. LARDNER, says: "Ignatius, . . . Romanis scribens, negat se ipsis, tanquam Petrum et Paulum, præcipere velle. Cur Petrum et Paulum unà nominat, nisi quod uterque Romæ fuerit? Cur Petrum, si cum Romanis nullum nexum habuerit? Si enim Romæ non fuerit, tum Romanis non scripserit, nil magis cum iis commune habebat, vel iis præciperat, quam Jacobus, vel Judas, vel Joannes. Manifestum est Ignatium Romanum Petri iter novisse" (*De Success. Episc. Rom. c. i. n. 3.* Ap. Lardner, *Hist. of the Apostles and Evangelists*, ch. xviii.) Dr. CAVE, Bp. JACOBSON, and other learned Protestants have written to the same effect.

"The Ebionite document called **The Preaching of Peter** must have originated about the time of St. Ignatius or very soon after, for in Hadrian's time it had been used by Heracleon (*Orig. Com. in Joann. xiii. 17*). It brings St. Peter and St. Paul together at Rome, and divides the discourses and utterances which took place there between the two. Origen thinks there is an admixture of genuine and spurious matter in this document, while Clement of Alexandria quotes

who constantly made use of the writings of Hegesippus,¹ and who unhesitatingly calls St. Peter the first Bishop of Rome ; and it is to this list, apparently, that a learned German rationalist refers when he states that "It is to the latter half of the second century that the date of the oldest catalogue of Roman Bishops must be referred, which *traces their succession back to the Prince of the Apostles*" (Lipsius, in *Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.* vol. i. p. 26).

St. Dionysius of Corinth, A.D. 170 :—"So you (Romans) also, by an admonition so valuable, have again united **the planting of the Romans and Corinthians, which was by the hands of Peter and Paul.** For both came to our Corinth,² and, planting us, both

it often without ever expressing any doubt about it. It is notoriously founded on the universally admitted fact of St. Peter's having laboured in Rome. But it is inconceivable that such a writing, claiming acceptance in the Church as a genuine product of the Apostolic age, should have put forward a groundless fable about the theatre of St. Peter's operations at a time when many who had seen him must have been still alive. St. Irenæus and Eusebius had the writings of Papias and Hegesippus before them, and these authors had certainly not been silent about St. Peter, or contradicted the common view, for in that case neither would Eusebius have failed to record it, nor Irenæus have appealed so confidently, against the numerous heretics in Rome itself, to a fact by denying which those Gnostics could have shaken his whole argument" (DOLLINGER'S *First Age of the Church*, 2d ed. p. 279).

¹ "It is clear that EUSEBIUS had a high opinion of HEGESIPPUS. He both speaks of him in the most commendatory terms, and quotes him on numerous occasions (see *Hist. Eccl.* ii. 23 ; iii. 11, 16, 20, 32 ; iv. 8, 11, 22). Such confidence seems to have been well deserved. As we have already seen, he travelled much ; he endeavoured in the course of his journeys to learn all that he could both of the past and present state of the Churches that he visited ; at Corinth the First Epistle of Clement excited his curiosity ; at Rome, the history of its early Bishops. Combine with all this his unpretending and unexaggerated style, and we are entitled to infer that he was very far indeed from being either a hasty or credulous chronicler" (*Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.* vol. ii. p. 876).

² Dr. DOLLINGER (*First Age of the Church*, 2d ed. p. 296) discusses the subject of St. Peter's visit to Corinth, as connected with his journey to Rome (see also JUNGSMANN'S *Dissert. in Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. p. 56). St. Paul's allusion to him in 1 *Cor.* i. 12 and iii. 22 shows that he had been in Corinth ; and Clement of Rome alludes to this fact, as well as Dionysius of Corinth.

Regarding the time of St. Peter's *first* journey to Rome, Dr. DOLLINGER (p. 97, *note*) says : "The *Acts* are silent about St. Peter's doings and fate from Cornelius's baptism till his imprisonment by Herod Agrippa (*Acts* xi. 18—xii. 3). There is thus an interval of full three years for his journey to Rome, to which tradition testifies, and his return to Jerusalem. His arrival at Rome comes in the beginning of Claudius's reign, not 'secundo Claudii anno,' as St. Jerome says, after the Chronicle of Eusebius. . . . Orosius says more correctly, 'exordio regni Claudii' (*Hist.* vii. 6)." Prof. JUNGSMANN and others, however, consider that St. Peter went to Rome *after* his liberation from prison (*Acts* xii. 17), *i.e.*, A.D. 42. See his *Dissert. Select. in Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. pp. 71, 102, &c.

alike taught; and alike going to Italy also, and having taught together, they gave their testimony (by martyrdom) about the same time" (*Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. c. 25*).

St. Irenæus, A.D. 178:—This Father, after declaring his ability to "enumerate those whom the Apostles left as **their successors**" in the Churches, "**delivering to them their own post of government**" (*Quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes*), confines himself to giving the Episcopal Succession of "that greatest, most ancient, and illustrious Church, the one founded and constituted at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul;" who, "having founded and built up that Church, transmitted the office of the Episcopate to Linus. To him succeeded Anencletus; and after him, in the third place from the Apostles, to Clement is allotted the Episcopacy" (*Adv. Hær. Lib. iii. c. 3; et ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. c. 6*). He brings down the succession to his own contemporary, Eleutherus, who "now, in the twelfth place, holds the inheritance of the Episcopate from the Apostles" (*Ib.*)¹

Regarding this testimony of St. Irenæus, it is only necessary to remark that his object was *polemical*; that he appeals to the Apostolic Succession in the See of Rome as a notorious and indisputable fact, and one conclusive against all the heretics of his time. Had the latter been able to cast doubt on St. Peter's teaching in Rome, or to call in question the unbroken succession of her Bishops from him,

¹ In this catalogue of the early Roman Bishops it will be observed that Irenæus counts LINUS as "*first*," and the others in their order "*from the Apostles*;" from which fact some Protestant writers have contended that he must have *excluded* the Apostles themselves, and therefore could not have regarded St. PETER as first Bishop. The falsity of this inference will be apparent if it is considered—Ist, that St. Irenæus is professedly speaking of those Bishops whom the Apostles left as their "**SUCCESSORS**" in the Churches, "**DELIVERING TO THEM THEIR OWN POST OF GOVERNMENT**" (*Quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes*); 2dly, that whereas, in the list referred to, Hyginus is reckoned the *eighth* Bishop, in two other passages of Irenæus (*ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iv. 11*) he is called "the **NINTH** in succession;" from which it is clear that, in the passage above cited, Linus is called "*first*" Bishop, not as excluding St. Peter, but simply as being his *first successor*; 3dly, that EUSEBIUS also reckoned the Bishops of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria "*from the Apostles*"—not, certainly, intending to exclude the Apostolic founders of those Sees from their lists of Bishops, but meaning that those whom he calls the "*first*," "*second*," or "*third*" Bishops in those Sees had in this order *succeeded* the Apostolic founders and occupants of the same. An English historian might in like manner speak of William Rufus and his two next successors as the *first*, *second*, and *third* Norman kings of England "*from the Conqueror*," without being supposed to imply that the Conqueror himself had not really been king before them.

the whole argument of Irenæus would have collapsed at once. The entire passage will be given in Sect. iii.

Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 190 :—This Father relates that “**when Peter had proclaimed the word publicly at Rome**” (τοῦ Πέτρου δημοσίᾳ ἐν Ῥώμῃ κηρύξαντος τὸν λόγον), he allowed **St. Mark** to reduce his sayings to writing, &c. (*Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. vi. c. 14*). See note to p. 41. For what Dr. Lardner calls “the general and almost unanimous testimony of ancient writers concerning St. Mark : that he was a disciple of St. Peter, that his Gospel is the substance of St. Peter’s preaching, and that it was writ at Rome,” see that writer’s *Hist. of the Apostles and Evang.* (ch. vii.), republished in Watson’s *Theol. Tracts*, vol. ii.

Tertullian :—“Run through the Apostolic Churches, in which the very Chairs of the Apostles to this very day preside over their own places ;¹ in which their own authentic letters are read, echoing the voice and making present the face of each. Is Achaia near to thee? thou hast Corinth. . . . If thou art near to Italy, thou hast Rome, whence we (Africans) also have an authority at hand. That Church how happy ! into which the Apostles poured all their doctrine with their blood ; where Peter² had a like passion with the Lord, where Paul is crowned with an end like the Baptist’s” (*Percurre ecclesias apostolicas, apud quas ipsæ adhuc Cathedræ Apostolorum suis locis præsidentur. . . . Habes Romam*,³ . . . *Ista*

¹ Eusebius testifies that the “*Throne of James*” the Apostle, *i.e.*, his actual *Episcopal Chair*, was preserved in Jerusalem even in his own time (*Hist. Eccles. Lib. vii. c. 19, c. 32*). For the history of the Chair or Episcopal Throne of St. Peter, the reader may be referred to *Roma Sotteranea*, Longmans & Co., Part I. pp. 483–494, ed. 1879.

² **Tertullian** refers in several passages of his writings to St. Peter’s labours and martyrdom in Rome :—“Let us see what utterance the Romans give, TO WHOM PETER AND PAUL CONJOINTLY BEQUEATHED THE GOSPEL EVEN SEALED WITH THEIR OWN BLOOD” (*Adv. Marc. Lib. iv. c. 5*). “Those whom John baptized in the Jordan, and THOSE WHOM PETER BAPTIZED IN THE TIBER” (*De Bapt. c. 4*). “And if a heretic wishes his confidence to rest upon a public record, the archives of the empire will speak, as would have the stones of Jerusalem. We read the *Lives of the Casars* : At Rome Nero was the first who stained with blood the rising faith. THEN IS PETER GIRT BY ANOTHER (*John xxi. 18*), WHEN HE IS MADE FAST TO THE CROSS. Then does PAUL obtain a birth suited to Roman citizenship, when in Rome he springs to life again ennobled by martyrdom. Whenever I read of these occurrences, so soon as I do so, I learn to suffer” (*Scorpiace, c. 15*).

³ **TERTULLIAN** passes rapidly over the other Churches founded by the Apostles (those of Corinth, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Ephesus), but pauses to speak of

quam felix ecclesia, cui totam doctrinam apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt, ubi Petrus passioni dominicæ adæquatur, ubi Paulus Joannis exitu coronatur.—*De Præscript. Hæret. c. 36*). “The Church of the Romans recounts that **Clement was ordained by Peter**” (Romanorum ecclesia Clementem a Petro ordinatum refert.¹—*De Præscr. Hæret. c. 32*).

the peculiar “felicity” of the ROMAN Church, as possessing the full treasure of Apostolic doctrine. Elsewhere, in answer to the objection of the heretics that some of these Churches had erred and had been reprovèd by the Apostles themselves (*Galat. iii. 1* ; *i. 6* ; *1 Cor. iii. 1* ; *viii. 2* ; *xvi. 9*), he says :—“When they object to us that the Churches were reprovèd, let them believe that they were amended ; and let them recollect those concerning whose ‘faith,’ and ‘knowledge,’ and conversation, the Apostle ‘rejoices,’ and ‘giveth God thanks’ (*Rom. i. 8* ; *xv. 14* ; *xvi. 19*, &c.), which, nevertheless, at this day join with those which were reprovèd in the privileges of one constituted body” (*De Præscr. Hæret. c. 27*).

¹ These words do not imply that TERTULLIAN regarded CLEMENT as *first* in the succession ; since it was not his object to give the episcopal *succession* in the Roman Church, but to show the Apostolicity of her *doctrine* ; and it suited his purpose to name Clement, as being the most renowned, and the nearest to his own time, of those Bishops of Rome who had actually been “ordained by Peter.” The order given by IRENÆUS, EUSEBIUS (who followed also that stated by HEGESIPPUS), and EPIPHANIUS, of the first successors of St. Peter, is,—1. LINUS, 2. CLETUS (or ANENCLETUS), 3. CLEMENT ; and this agrees with the one given in the very ancient CANON OF THE ROMAN MASS,—“*Lini, Cleti, Clementis*,”—which expresses the earliest traditions of the Roman Church.

The different order given by some early Latin Fathers has been accounted for by the fact stated by EPIPHANIUS, RUFINUS, VEN. BEDE, and others,—that Clement, Linus, and Anencletus had all three been ordained by St. Peter as his coadjutors (*cum jure successionis*), being required by him to act either as missionary Bishops, or in the administration of the Roman Church, during his own and St. Paul’s absence from Rome. St. EPIPHANIUS (who is followed by Baronius, Bollandus, Natalis Alexander, Tillemont, and others) further states, that St. Clement, although first ordained by St. Peter, *resigned* the Episcopal office in favour of Linus and Anencletus and did not resume it until after the death of the latter (*Epiphani. Adv. Hæret. 27*). It has, moreover, been supposed by many, that when St. PAUL came to Rome, he undertook there a part of St. PETER’s episcopal administration, exercising this office in regard to the *Gentile* converts, whilst St. Peter’s local charge was that specially of the converts from Judaism. Hence, Irenæus, Anatolius, Eusebius, and Epiphanius deduce the succession of the Roman Bishops from *both* Apostles ; and the apparent discrepancy amongst some early writers, as to the order of succession of the three first, is cleared up if we suppose that, after the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, the successors of St. Peter were *Linus, Cletus* (or *Anencletus*), whilst *Clement* succeeded St. Paul ; and that Clement, after their decease, A.D. 91, was also chosen to succeed Cletus, and so joined both the converted Jews and converted Gentiles at Rome under one pastor.

In the *Poem against Marcion* it is said :—

“ The first

Whom Peter bade to take his place and sit
Upon this Chair in mightiest Rome where he
Himself had sat,¹ was Linus, great, elect,
And by the mass approved. And after him
Cletus himself the fold's flock undertook ;
As his disciple Anacletus was
By lot located : Clement follows him ;
Well known was he to Apostolic men :

Blooming in piety

United stood the Church of Rome, compact
By Peter : whose successor, too, himself,
And now in the ninth place, Hyginus was,
The burden undertaking of his Chair.”

(Hac Cathedrâ, Petrus quâ sederat ipse, locatum
Maxima Roma Linum, primum considerare jussit.

Constabat pietate vicens Ecclesia Romæ,
Composita a Petro, cujus successor et ipse,
Jamque loco nono Cathedram suscepit Hyginus.

—*Carm. adv. Marcion.*² Lib. iii. c. 8, vers. 356–369, 382–388. Tertull. Op. ed. Migne, Tom. ii. pp. 1077, 1078. Eng. trans. in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Christian Lib.* vol. xviii.)

After his fall into the Montanist heresy, Tertullian thus attacks Pope Zephyrinus and the Catholic Church :—“I hear that there has even been an edict set forth, and a peremptory one too. **The Sovereign Pontiff—that is, the Bishop of bishops**³—issues an edict :

¹ This is Œhler's reading of the text. Migne's reads as follows :—

“ OF WHOM THE FIRST
WHOM MIGHTIEST ROME BADE TAKE HIS PLACE AND SIT
UPON THE CHAIR WHERE PETER'S SELF HAD SAT.”

² The *Five Books against Marcion*, in verse, were ascribed to Tertullian by the celebrated GEORGE FABRICIUS, who published his great work, *Poetarum Veterum Ecclesiasticorum Opera Christiana*, &c., in 1564 ; also by PAMELIUS and Bp. BULL (see Lardner's *Credibility*, &c., vol. iii. p. 169, ed. Kippis, 1838). They are more commonly ascribed to Victorinus (mentioned by St. Jerome, *De Vir. Illust.* c. 74), who fell a martyr in the Dioclesian persecution, A.D. 303. Dr. NORTHCOTE and Canon BROWNLOW state that the *Poem against Marcion*, “from internal evidence, clearly belongs to the third century” (*Rom. Sotterran.* vol. i. p. 491, ed. 1879).

³ Pope ZEPHYRINUS, or his predecessor VICTOR. The Protestant historian NEANDER says : “Very early indeed do we observe in the Roman Bishops traces of the assumption that to them, as successors of St. Peter, belonged a paramount

'I remit to such as have discharged (the requirements of) repentance, the sins both of adultery and fornication.' . . . But it is in **the Church** that this edict is read, and in **the Church** that it is pronounced; and (the Church) is a virgin! . . . But thou (the Pope) sayest, 'The Church has the power of forgiving sins.' . . . I now ask, concerning thy opinion, whence wilt thou assume this right to the Church? **If, because the Lord may have said to Peter, 'Upon this Rock I will build My Church; to thee will I give the Keys,' &c. . . . thou presumest that the power of binding and loosing has been given to thee also—that is, to all the Church allied to Peter (ad omnem ecclesiam Petri propinquam), who art thou, overthrowing and changing the Lord's manifest intention, which confers this on Peter personally? 'Upon thee,' He says, 'I will build My Church,' and 'to thee will I give the Keys,'" &c. (De Pudicitia, c. 1, 21). See note on this passage in pp. 1, 2.**

Caius, A.D. 214, calls Pope Victor "the thirteenth Bishop of Rome from Peter" (τρισκαιδέκατος ἀπὸ Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπίσκοπος.—Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. c. 28¹). Writing to Proclus, a leader of the Phrygian sect, he thus speaks of the places in Rome where the sacred bodies (Eusebius uses the word σκηνώματα, "tabernacles;" comp. 2 Pet. i. 14) of SS. Peter and Paul were deposited: "But I can show you the trophies of the Apostles. For if you will go to the Vatican or to the Ostian Way, you will find the trophies of those who founded this Church" (Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. Lib. ii. c. 25).

St. Hippolytus, A.D. 225, in the portion of his Chronicle² authority in ecclesiastical disputes; that the CATHEDRA PETRI, as the source of Apostolic tradition, must take precedence of all other *Ecclesie Apostolicæ*. . . . In the Montanist writings of Tertullian we find indications that the Roman Bishops already issued peremptory edicts in ecclesiastical matters, endeavoured to make themselves considered as the Bishops of bishops, and were in the habit of speaking of the authority of their *antecessores*" (Hist. of the Church, Bohn's ed. vol. i. p. 298).

¹ The passage from which the above extract is taken is cited by EUSEBIUS as from an ancient author. It is ascribed to Caius by PHOTIUS and by Bishop PEARSON, but by some writers to St. Hippolytus.

² This portion of the CHRONICLE OF HIPPOLYTUS was long supposed to be lost, but it has been restored by Professor MOMMSEN, who has "satisfactorily shown that the earlier part of the *Liberian Catalogue* is derived from the list of Roman Bishops given by Hippolytus in the work just mentioned" (Dr. SALMON, in *Dict. of Christ. Biog.*, &c., vol. i. p. 555). The **Catalogue of Liberius** was drawn up during the reign of that Pontiff, A.D. 354. It gives for the order and duration of the first Roman episcopates: PETER, 25 years, 1 month, 9 days; LINUS, 12 years, 4 months, 12 days; CLEMENT, 9 years, 11 months, 12 days;

from which the first part of the ancient *Liberian Catalogue* was derived, "counts Peter as first Bishop of Rome" (*Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.* vol. i. p. 577. See also Mr. Plummer's *Appendix A.* to his translation of Dollinger's *Hippolytus and Callistus*, pp. 336-339).

Origen, A.D. 230, says that St. Peter, having preached in Pontus, Galatia, and other places, "at length came to Rome, where he was crucified with his head downwards, having himself requested to suffer in this way" (*Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 1). This, of course, does not refer to St. Peter's *first* visit to Rome, from which city, during the period of his Pontificate, he was no doubt frequently absent, sometimes for years together. **Lactantius** (A.D. 306) also speaks of St. Peter coming to Rome in the reign of Nero, by whose order, he says, "Peter was crucified and Paul also put to death" (*De Mort. Persec.* c. 2; comp. *Institut.* Lib. iv. c. 21).

St. Cyprian, A.D. 250, says that Cornelius was chosen Bishop of Rome,¹ "and mounted to the lofty summit of the Priesthood . . . when the place of Fabian—that is, when the place of Peter, and the rank of the Sacerdotal Chair—was vacant" (*Ad sacerdotii sublime fastigium cunctis religionis gradibus adscendit . . . cum Fabiani locus, id est, cum locus Petri et gradus cathedræ sacerdotalis, vacaret.*—*Epist. ad Antonian.* In ed. Baluz. Ep. lii.; in ed. Oxon. Ep. lv. n. 8).

CLETUS, 6 years, 2 months, 10 days. Dr. Salmon considers that St. Hippolytus was led to place the episcopate of Clement before that of Cletus by his acceptance as historically true of the ordination of Clement by Peter as related in the Clementine Epistle to James, and regards the order given by him as "*an arbitrary transposition devised to get over a chronological difficulty*" (*ib.* p. 555). He gives the following reasons for preferring that given by **IRENÆUS** and **EUSEBIUS**:—"First, because it is distinctly the more ancient; secondly, because if the earlier tradition had not placed the undistinguished name Cletus before the well-known Clement, no later writer would have been under any temptation to reverse its order; thirdly, because of the testimony of the Liturgy." He concludes "that the commemoration in the order Linus, Cletus, Clement, had been introduced before the time of Hippolytus, and was at that time so firmly established that even the contradictory result arrived at by Hippolytus had no power to alter it" (*ib.*)

¹ **ST. CYPRIAN** says that **CORNELIUS** courageously accepted his election to the Pontificate, although the tyrannical Emperor **DECIUS** had declared that he "would much more patiently and tolerantly learn that a new pretender to the Empire had risen against him, than that a new Bishop was appointed in Rome" (*Multo patientius et tolerabilius audiret, levare adversus se œmulum principem, quam constitui Romæ Dei sacerdotem.*—*Epist.* 52). In the editions of Erasmus, Manutius, and Pamelius, the reading is, "*quam constitui Romæ æmulum Sacerdotem,*"—i.e., "*a rival Chief Pontiff.*" **TERTULLIAN**, as above shown, had long before given to the Pope the title of "**Pontifex Maximus.**"

He says of certain heretics : " After all this, they dare to sail, and to carry letters from schismatics and profane persons to **the Chair of Peter,**¹ and to **the Ruling Church,** whence the unity of the priesthood has its source ; nor do they consider that they are the same Romans whose faith is praised in the preaching of the Apostle, to whom heretical perfidy cannot gain access " (*Navigare audent et ad Petri cathedram atque ad ecclesiam principalem, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est, a schismaticis et prophanis literas ferre, nec cogitare, eos esse Romanos, quorum fides apostolo prædicante laudata est, ad quos perfidia habere non possit accessum.*—*Epist. lv. ad Cornel.* ed. Baluz. ; in ed. Gold. Ep. lix. p. 144).

Firmilian,² A.D. 257, says of Pope Stephen : " He prides himself on the place of his Episcopate, and contends that he **holds the succession of Peter,** upon whom the foundations of the Church were laid. . . . Stephen, who proclaims that he **occupies by succession the Chair of Peter,** is moved by no zeal against heretics " (*De episcopatus sui loco gloriatur et se successionem Petri tenere contendit, super quem fundamenta ecclesiæ collocata sunt. . . . Stephanus, qui per successionem Cathedram Petri habere se prædicat, &c.*—*Epist. ad Cyp.* Int. Cyp. Epist. lxxv. ed. Baluz.)

St. Anatolius of Alexandria, A.D. 276, calls the Roman Bishops " **the successors of Peter and Paul** " (*Canon. Paschal.* n. 10. Galland. Tom. iii.) See notes in pp. 56, 64, &c.

The Council of Arles, A.D. 314, in its Synodical Epistle to

¹ " The Roman Church," says the Anglican writer PALMER, " was particularly honoured as *having been presided over by St. Peter,* and was therefore by many of the Fathers called *the See of Peter* " (*Treatise on the Church*, vol. ii. Part vii. ch. 3). NEANDER admits that " Cyprian looked upon the Roman Church as *really the Cathedra Petri*, and as the representative of the outward unity of the Church " (Bohn's *Neander*, vol. i. p. 298). Dean MILMAN also admits that " Cyprian *acknowledged the hereditary descent of the Roman Bishops from the great Apostle* " (*Hist. of Latin Christianity*, B. ii. ch. 4) ; and that " The succession of the Bishop of Rome from St. Peter was now, near 200 years after his death, *an accredited tradition* " (*Ib.* B. i. ch. 1). See *Appendix* to this work.

² FIRMILIAN is writing to St. Cyprian in a hostile and violent manner against Pope Stephen, from whom he differed on the disciplinary question of the re-baptisation of converted heretics. Whilst declaiming bitterly, however, against what he supposed to be *an arbitrary and uncalled-for exercise of the Pope's authority in that particular matter*, he did not for a moment call his authority itself in question, or *deny* that he " held by succession the Chair of Peter "—which undoubtedly his indignation against him would have impelled him to do, had such a mode of opposing him been practicable, and had not the fact of the Pope's succession from St. Peter been undisputed and indisputable. See on the whole subject Bishop FREPPEL'S *S. Cyprien*, pp. 363-446.

Pope Sylvester, calls Rome "the place in which the Apostles continually sit (in judgment), and their blood without ceasing witnesses to the glory of God" (In quibus (partibus) et Apostoli quotidie sedent, et cruor ipsorum sine intermissione Dei gloriam testatur.—*Epist. Synod. ad Sylvest.* Labbe, Tom. i. p. 1425).

† Eusebius of Cæsarea, A.D. 314:—"Peter the Apostle, the first Pontiff of the Christians, when he had first founded the Church at Antioch, proceeds to Rome, where, preaching the gospel, he continues for twenty-five years Bishop of that city"¹ (Petrus apostolus, . . . Christianorum pontifex primus, cum primum Antiochenam fundasset ecclesiam, Romam proficiscitur, ubi Evangelium prædicans 25 annis ejusdem urbis episcopus perseverat.—*Chron. ad ann. 44, Interp. Hieron.* Op. Hieron. Tom. viii. p. 578, ed. Ben. Migne. Compare Eusebius' *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 14).² "Linus was the first Bishop of the Church of the Romans after the Coryphæus Peter" (Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος μετὰ Πέτρον τὸν κορυφαῖον Λίνος.—*Chron. ad ann. 66.* Migne's ed. Tom. i. p. 544). "Linus has been before shown to have been the first after Peter, that obtained the Episcopate of the Church of Rome" (Λίνος δὲ . . . πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρον τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίας τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἤδη πρότερον κληρωθεὶς δεδήλωται.—

¹ The ARMENIAN version (fifth century) of Eusebius' *Chronicle* gives the duration of St. Peter's Episcopate in Rome as *twenty* years. The SYRIAC EPITOME, of which a translation by Roediger is appended to Schoene's edition of Eusebius' *Chronicle*, agrees with St. Jerome's version in making his Episcopate *twenty-five* years. The discrepancies between the Armenian and Latin versions are easily accounted for, since "there is every reason for thinking that more editions of the *Chronicle* than one were published by Eusebius in his lifetime;" and that "Jerome worked on a later edition of it than that represented by the Armenian translation" (See *Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.* vol. ii. pp. 352-354). Dr. LIGHT-FOOT further remarks, that Eusebius "was in the habit of re-editing his books, and possibly also of adding references from later works in his earlier, even when he did not re-edit. Hence the apparently contradictory evidence with regard to dates which meets us again and again in his writings" (*Ib.* p. 319).

² After narrating the triumphal progress of SIMON MAGUS in Rome, Eusebius says:—"This, however, did not continue long; for immediately under the reign of Claudius, by the benign and gracious providence of God, PETER, that powerful and great Apostle, the chief of all the rest on account of his virtue, was conducted to Rome against this pest of mankind. He, like a noble commander of God, fortified with divine armour, bore the precious merchandise of the revealed light from the East to those in the West," &c. (*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 14). In another passage, speaking of the celebrated Jewish author PHILO, Eusebius says:—"This same author, in the reign of Claudius, is also declared (λόγος ἔχει) to have had familiar conversation with Peter at Rome, whilst he was proclaiming the Gospel to the inhabitants of that city" (*Ib.* Lib. ii. c. 17).

Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 4).¹ "Alexander, . . . the fifth in succession from Peter and Paul" (πέμπτην ἀπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου κατὰ γων διαδοχὴν.—*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iv. c. 1. "Victor, the 13th Bp. of

¹ St. IRENÆUS, four times (*ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* iv. 11, and v. 6), and EUSEBIUS himself, in several places (*Ib.* iv. 5 ; v. 6) reckon the Bishops of Rome "from the Apostles ; which expression may either mean from the two Apostles SS. Peter and Paul, regarded as having together exercised an Episcopal office in Rome (see *Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* Lib. iii. c. 21 ; and Lib. iv. c. 1), and reckoning from the time of their martyrdom (see Lib. iii. c. 2 ; comp. Lib. ii. c. 25) ; or, in a more general sense, from the age or time of the Apostles ;—this same expression, "from the Apostles," being used by Eusebius when speaking of the Episcopal successions in the Sees of JERUSALEM (Lib. iv. 5 ; v. 12), ANTIOCH (*Quæst. ad Stephan.*, et in *Hist. Eccles.* iv. 20, 24 ; v. 22), and ALEXANDRIA (*Ib.* iv. 1). In any case it must be clear that this expression was not intended by him to *exclude* the Apostolic Founders of the four chief Sees from their catalogues of Bishops ; for—

10, As regards JERUSALEM, it is clearly stated by HEGESIPPUS, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, and EUSEBIUS, that St. JAMES THE JUST was "*the first Bishop*" (*Euseb. Hist. Eccl.* ii. 1 ; ii. 23 ; iii. 5 ; iv. 5 ; iv. 22) ; and EUSEBIUS mentions that his Episcopal Throne (θρόνος) was preserved as a sacred relic there even in his own day (*Ib.* vii. c. 19, 32).

20, The See of ANTIOCH was founded by St. PETER himself, and he held the Episcopal Chair there for some years, until he went to Rome. EVODIUS was "the first" Bishop *after* him ; and, accordingly, his successor IGNATIUS is called by ORIGEN "the second Bishop of Antioch AFTER THE BLESSED PETER" (μετὰ τὸν μακάριον Πέτρον τῆς Ἀντιοχείας δεύτερον ἐπίσκοπον.—*Hom. vi. in Lucam.* Op. ed. Delarue, Tom. iii. p. 938 ; and by EUSEBIUS, "the second SUCCESSOR OF PETER in the Episcopate of Antioch" (τῆς κατ' Ἀντιόχειαν Πέτρου διαδοχῆς δεύτερος τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν κεκληρωμένος.—*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 36).

30, The See of ALEXANDRIA was founded by St. MARK, ordained and sent as its first Bishop by St. Peter. PAPIAS and CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*ap. Euseb.* ii. 16) state that St. MARK "first founded Churches in the city of Alexandria ;" and EUSEBIUS says that "ANNIANUS was appointed the first Bishop of Alexandria AFTER MARK ;" *i.e.*, that "he SUCCEEDED the Apostle and Evangelist Mark in the administration of the Church of Alexandria" (Μετὰ Μάρκον πρῶτος ἐπίσκοπος τῆς Ἀλεξανδρέων ἐκκλησίας Ἀννιανὸς κατέστη. . . . Πρῶτος μετὰ Μάρκον τὸν ἀπόστολον καὶ εὐαγγελιστὴν τῆς ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ παροικίας τὴν λειτουργίαν διαδέχεται.—*Ib.* Lib. ii. c. 24).

Some Protestant writers have argued that EUSEBIUS could not have regarded St. PETER himself as Bishop of Rome, because in several passages of his History he calls LINUS "*the first Bishop*," or reckons the Bishops of Rome from him as "*the first*." These writers invariably suppress the fact that Eusebius distinctly calls him "*the first AFTER PETER*" (πρῶτος μετὰ Πέτρον), and that, by continuing to speak of him as "the first," and Clement as "the third," he no more implied that Linus had not been preceded by St. PETER, than, when he calls ANNIANUS "*the first Bishop*" of ALEXANDRIA (*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 14 ; iii. 21), he implied that *he* had not actually been preceded by St. MARK (*Ib.* ii. 24) ; or than, when he calls IGNATIUS "*the second*" Bishop of ANTIOCH (*Ib.* iii. 22), he meant anything else than that he was "*the second successor of Peter*" (iii. 36) in that See.

Rome from Peter" (τρισκαιδέκατος ἀπὸ Πέτρου ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκοπος.—*Ib.* Lib. v. c. 28).

The Council of Sardica, A.D. 342, "honours the memory of the Apostle Peter," by its ordinances regarding appeals from all the provinces "to the Head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter" (Εἰ δοκεῖ ὑμῶν τῇ ἀγάπῃ, Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου τὴν μνήμην τιμήσομεν, καὶ γραφῆναι παρὰ τούτων τῶν κρινάντων Ἰουλίῳ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ Ῥώμης, κ.τ.λ.—*Can.* iii. Hoc enim optimum et valde congruentissimum esse videbitur, si ad caput, id est ad Petri Apostoli Sedem, de singulis quibusque provinciis Domini referant sacerdotes. *Epist. ad Julium.* Labbe, Tom. ii. p. 661; Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 653).

St. Athanasius, A.D. 362, calls Rome "the Apostolic Throne" (ἀποστολικὸς θρόνος.—*Hist. Arian. ad Monach.* n. 35).

St. Julius, Pope, A.D. 342, to the Eastern Bishops:—"The things which we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter, these I make known to you also" (Ἐὰ παρειλήφαμεν παρὰ τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, ταῦτα καὶ ὑμῖν δηλώ.—*Epist. ad Eusebian.* n. 22, ap. *Apol. S. Athanas. cont. Arian.* n. 35).

St. Optatus of Milevis, A.D. 372:—"You (Parmenian, the Donatist) cannot affect ignorance of the fact that the Episcopal Chair was first established by Peter in the City of Rome, in which Chair sat Peter, the Head of all the Apostles" (Negare non potes scire te in urbe Româ Petro primo Cathedram episcopalem esse collatam in quâ sederit omnium Apostolorum caput Petrus.—*De Schism. Donat.* Lib. ii. c. 2. Ed. Hurter, p. 76). "Peter, therefore, first filled that pre-eminent Chair, which is the first of the marks of the

According to EUSEBIUS, therefore, and the earlier writers whom he followed, the first four Bishops in the above-mentioned Sees were:—

JERUSALEM.	ANTIOCH.	ROME.	ALEXANDRIA.
1. St. James.	1. St. Peter.	1. St. Peter.	1. St. Mark.
2. Simeon.	2. Evodius.	2. Linus.	2. Annianus.
3. Justus.	3. Ignatius.	3. Anencletus.	3. Avilius.
4. Zacchæus.	4. Heron.	4. Clement.	4. Cerdo.

EUSEBIUS considered it a matter of the highest importance to give a full and accurate list of the Bishops who held succession from the Apostles in the Churches above mentioned (see Lib. i. c. 1), and of the first Bishops (especially of those in the See of Rome) such lists had long before been carefully compiled by HEGESIPPUS and IRENÆUS (comp. Lib. iii. 37, *ad fin.*, with iv. 8, 22; and v. 6, &c.), and doubtless also by AFRICANUS and other writers of the second century. See also VALESIIUS' note in Euseb. v. 12.

Church (the prerogatives); to whom succeeded Linus," &c. (Ergo Cathedram unicam, quæ est prima de dotibus, sedit prior Petrus: cui successit Linus.—*Ib.* c. 3, p. 76). "If Macrobius be asked in what Chair he sits in Rome, can he answer, **In the Chair of Peter?**" (Si Macrobio dicatur, ubi illic sedeat, numquid potest dicere in Cathedra Petri?—*Ib.* c. 4, p. 78. Comp. c. 5, p. 81).

St. Damasus, Pope, A.D. 370:—"Most honoured sons, in that your charity bestows on **the Apostolic Chair** the reverence due, you confer the greatest honour on yourselves. For although especially in **this holy Church, in which the holy Apostle, sitting, taught** in what way it beseems us to guide the helm which has been put into our hands," &c. (Τίολι τιμιώτατοι, ὅτι τῇ ἀποστολικῇ καθέδρᾳ τὴν ὀφειλομένην αἰδῶ ἢ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν ἀπονέμει, κ.τ.λ. — *Epist.* ix. *ad Synod. Orient. cont. Apollinar.* Galland. Tom. vi.; et ap. *Theodoret. Hist. Eccles.*, Lib. v. c. 10).

St. Epiphanius, A.D. 385:—"The succession of the Bishops of Rome was in the following order: **Peter and Paul**,¹ Linus and Cletus, Clement, Evaristus," &c. (*Adv. Hær.* 27, Tom. i. p. 107).

St. Ambrose, A.D. 385:—"They (the Novatians) have not Peter's inheritance, who have not **Peter's Chair**" (Non habent Petri hereditatem, qui Petri sedem non habent.—*De Pœnitent.* Lib. i. c. 7, n. 32). "The Roman Church, **where Peter, first of the Apostles, sat**, and whither he brought their common faith" (Hoc est symbolum quod Romana Ecclesia tenet, ubi primus Apostolorum Petrus sedit, et communem sententiam eo detulit.—*Exp. Symb. ad Initiand.*, ap. Maii, *Script. Vet. Nov. Collect.* Tom. vii.; et in *Append. Op. Amb.*, Migne, p. 1158).

St. Siricius, Pope, A.D. 386, calls his See "**the Apostolic Rock, upon which Christ founded the Universal Church, . . . the Apostolic See**" (Præfatam regulam omnes teneant sacerdotes, qui nolunt ab Apostolicæ petræ, super quam Christus universalem construxit ecclesiam, soliditate divelli. . . . Ab omni ecclesiastico honore, quo indigne usi sunt, Apostolicæ Sedis auctoritate dejectos,

¹ See note to p. 56 and *infra*, Part iii. Dr. HAWARDEN remarks that, supposing SS. Peter and Paul to have together exercised an Episcopal office at Rome—the one over the Jewish, and the other over the Gentile converts—"there would only have been a division of their labours, not of their jurisdiction;" and that "it would neither injure the Pope's supremacy, nor his being the Successor of St. Peter only in the government of the whole Church, though in the government of the Roman diocese he were the successor of St. Peter and St. Paul." (*True Church of Christ, &c.*, ed. 1808, vol. ii. p. 99).

&c.—*Epist. i. ad Himer. Tarracon. Episc. n. 3, 11*). See also *supra*, p. 48.

St. Jerome, A.D. 390 :—"I am linked in communion with thy Blessedness (Pope Damasus), that is, with **the Chair of Peter. On that Rock I know that the Church is built**" (*Beatitudini tuæ, id est, Cathedræ Petri, communione consocior. Super illam petram ædificatam ecclesiam scio.—Epist. xv. ad Damasum Pap. Tom. i. p. 39*). "**The Apostolic Chair**" (*Epist. cxxx. ad Demetriad. n. 16*). "**The Apostolic See**" (*Adv. Rufin. ii. 15*). "Let **the Chair of Peter the Apostle** confirm by its teaching that of the Chair of Mark the Evangelist" (*Prædicationem Cathedræ Marci evangelistæ Cathedra Petri apostoli suâ prædicatione confirmet.—Epist. xcvi. n. 4*).¹

St. Chrysostom. A.D. 387 :—"This is also one of the privileges of our city (Antioch), that it had in the beginning for its teacher the Chief of the Apostles. For it was fitting that that city which, before the rest of the world, was crowned with the name of Christian, should receive as Pastor the first of the Apostles. **But having had him as our teacher, we did not retain him to the end,**

¹ "SIMON PETER, . . . Prince of the Apostles, after his Episcopacy over the Church of Antioch, and after preaching to those dispersed of the circumcision, who had believed, in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, goes to ROME in the second year of Claudius to defeat Simon Magus, and THERE HE HELD THE EPISCOPAL CHAIR TWENTY-FIVE YEARS, down to the last year of Nero, that is, the fourteenth. Under whom he also suffered martyrdom, being crucified with his head downwards. . . . He was buried at Rome on the Vatican Hill, near the Triumphal Way, and is honoured with the veneration of the whole city" (Simon Petrus, . . . princeps apostolorum, post episcopatum Antiochensis ecclesiæ, . . . secundo Claudii anno, ad expugnandum Simonem Magum, Romam pergit : ibique viginti quinque annis cathedram sacerdotalem tenuit, &c.—*De Vir. Illust. c. i. Tom. i.*)

It is not, of course, to be supposed that HIPPOLYTUS, EUSEBIUS, JEROME, and the other early writers who attribute twenty-five years' Episcopacy in Rome to St. Peter, meant to assert that he *resided* there during all that period. DOLLINGER says that such a continuous residence at Rome "*was never maintained by any person whatever.*" "No Catholic," says Fr. WATERWORTH, "ever pretended that St. Peter always remained in Rome after the establishment of the Episcopal See in the Imperial City. *All suppose that he did not remain there.* And if they still allow that he was the Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years, *notwithstanding years of absence*, they maintain this precisely on the same grounds as they ascribe twenty-three years of spiritual sovereignty to Pius VI., and twenty-three to Pius VII." (*England and Rome*, chap. ii.) Many Catholic theologians have maintained, with Bellarmine (see Murray, *De Ecclesiâ*, vol. iii. p. 536), that St. Peter's actual presence in Rome, and even his death there, are not points *essential* to be established at all ; for that he would have been really Bishop of Rome, and would have remained so until his death, although he himself,—like some of the Avignon Popes,—had never set foot at all in that city.

but surrendered him to imperial Rome" (*Hom. ii. in Inscript. Act. n. 6*).¹

St. Augustine, A.D. 400:—"Number the Bishops even from the See itself of Peter; and in that order of Fathers see who succeeded to whom: **that is the Rock which the proud gates of hell overcome not**" (*Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsâ Sede Petri; . . . ipsa est petra quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ.—In Ps. cont. Part. Donat. Tom. ix. p. 30, ed. Bened. Migne*). "For if the order of Bishops succeeding to one another is to be considered, how much more surely and really beneficially do we **reckon from Peter himself**, to whom—bearing the figure of the whole Church—the Lord says, '*Upon this Rock I will build My Church.*' For to Peter succeeded Linus, to Linus Clement," &c. (*Epist. liii. Generoso, n. 2, Tom. ii.*) "**The Chair of the Roman Church, in which Peter sat**, and in which Anastasius sits at present" (*Cathedra quid tibi fecit Ecclesiæ Romanæ, in quâ Petrus sedit, et in quâ Anastasius hodie sedet?—Cont. Lit. Petilian. Lib. ii. c. 15, n. 118, Tom. ix. p. 300*). "The Roman Church, in which **the Primacy of the Apostolic See** has always been in force" (*Romana Ecclesia, in quâ semper Apostolicæ Cathedræ viguit principatus.—Epist. xliii. Glorio et cet. n. 7, Tom. ii. p. 163*). "I am held in the communion of the Catholic Church by . . . **the succession of Prelates in the very Chair of the Apostle Peter**, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, commended His sheep to be fed, even to the present Episcopate" (*Tenet ab ipsâ Sede Petri Apostoli, cui pascendas oves suas . . . Dominus commendavit, usque ad præsentem episcopatum successio sacerdotum.—Cont. Epist. Manichæi, n. 5, Tom. viii. p. 176*).

Paulinus the Deacon, A.D. 418:—"I appeal to the justice of your Blessedness, my lord Zosimus, venerable Pope. The true faith is never troubled, and especially **in the Apostolic Church**, wherein the teachers of a corrupt faith are as easily detected as they are truly punished" (*Libell. adv. Cælest. Zosimo obl. n. 1, Galland. ix.*)

Bacharius, A.D. 420:—"Not one of the heresies could either hold or move **the Chair of Peter—that is, the seat of Faith**"

¹ In one of the ancient Liturgical Offices of the Græco-Russian Church we read:—"Thou Supreme Foundation of the Apostles, . . . THOU, O PETER, WAST THE FIRST BISHOP OF ROME, honour and glory of that city, the greatest of cities, and also support of the Church; and truly, as Christ foretold, the gates of hell shall not prevail against her"—(*Τῆς 'Ρώμης δὲ γέγονας σὺ πρωτεπίσκοπος. Μην. 30th June, Feast of All the Apostles, at Lauds. Ed. Athen. Tom. ii. p. 327; ed. Venet., 1843, pp. 127, 128.*)

(Nulla earum Cathedram Petri, hoc est, sedem fidei, aut tenere potuit, aut movere.—*De Fide*, n. 2. Ib. p. 183).

General Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431 :—**Arcadius**, the Legate, said : “Let your Blessedness order the letter of the holy and venerable Pope Cœlestine, Bishop of **the Apostolic See**, to be read, from which you will be able to know what care he has for all the Churches.” . . .

St. Cyril of Alexandria said : “Let the letter received from the most holy Pope Cœlestine, the Bishop of **the Apostolic See**, be read to the Synod with fitting honour” (*Act. ii.* Labbe, Tom. iii. p. 611).

General Council of Chalcedon.—See the passages cited in next section. (*N.B.*—Throughout the Acts of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon the title of “**The Apostolic See**” is constantly given to the Roman Church.)

St. Leo the Great and St. Peter Chrysologus.—*Vide supra*, p. 49.

Theodoret, A.D. 440, to Pope Leo :—“We run to **your Apostolic Throne**, to receive from you healing for the wounds of the Churches. . . . These (**Peter and Paul**) have made your Throne most illustrious; this is the culminating point of your blessings. And their God has even now made **their throne** (*ἐκείνων θρόνον*) illustrious, having established therein your Holiness, emitting the rays of orthodoxy” (*Epist. cxiii. Leoni.* Tom. iv. p. 1187). “For that all-holy Throne has the office of heading the Churches of the whole world for many reasons; and above all, because **it has remained free from the communion of heretical taint**,¹ and no one

¹ See, on this point, the admissions of Dean MILMAN (*Hist. of Lat. Christ.* vol. i. ed. 1867, pp. 37, 38, 76–79, 104–111, 115, 177, 195, 228, 254, 271, 272, &c.) PALMER says : “We find that the Roman Church was zealous to maintain the true faith from the earliest period, condemning and expelling the Gnostics, Artemonites, &c.; and, during the Arian mania, it was **THE BULWARK OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH**” (*Treatise of the Church*, vol. ii. part vi. ch. 3). The agency of the Holy See in maintaining the integrity of revelation through a long lapse of ages was acknowledged by the learned Protestant CASAUBON : “*No one who is versed in ecclesiastical history can doubt that God made use of the Roman Pontiffs, during many ages, to preserve the doctrines of the true faith*” (*Nemo autem peritus rerum ecclesiæ ignorat, operâ Romanorum Pontificum per multa sæcula Deum esse usum in conservanda sarta tecta rectæ fidei doctrina.*—*Exercit. xv. in Annal. Baronii.* Londini, 1614, p. 434). “The orthodoxy of the West,” says MILMAN, “stood out in bold relief at the Council of Sardica. . . . Western Christendom might seem disposed to show its gratitude to Rome for *its pure and consistent orthodoxy* by acknowledging at Sardica a certain right of appeal to the Bishop of Rome from Illyricum and Macedonia” (B. i. ch. 2, vol. i. pp. 78, 79). He else-

holding heretical sentiments has ever sat in it, but it has preserved the Apostolic grace unsullied" (καὶ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ὅτι αἰρετικῆς μεμένηκε δυσωδίας ἀμύνητος, καὶ οὐδεὶς τὰναντία φρονῶν εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκάθισεν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν χάριν ἀκηρατον διεφύλαξε.—*Epist.* cxvi. *Renato*, p. 1197).

St. Gelasius, Pope, A.D. 492 :—"Granting to the See,¹ which he himself (Peter) blessed, that, in accordance with the Lord's promise, it should never be conquered by the 'gates of hell,' and should be the safest harbour of those tossed by the waves" (Præstans Sedi, quam ipse benedixit, ut a portis inferi nunquam pro Domini promissione vincatur omniumque sit fluctuantium tutissimus portus.—*Epist.* xiv. Galland. x. p. 1216).

where says that two of the Sardican Canons (cited as *Nicene* by the Papal Legates in the Council of Carthage, A.D. 419) "*established a general right of appeal from all parts of Christendom to Rome*" (B. ii. ch. 4, Ib. p. 240). NEANDER and Archbishop TRENCH also attribute the development and increase of the Papal power in a great measure to the unswerving orthodoxy of the Apostolic See (see Neander's *Church Hist.*, Bohn's ed. vol. iii. pp. 242, 243; and Trench's *Lect. on Mediæval Church Hist.* p. 154). The Protestant Archbishop USHER, referring to the Canon of an Irish Council held under St. Patrick A.D. 450, in which it is decreed that in difficult matters an appeal should be made to the Apostolic See, says: "It is most likely that St. Patrick had a special regard for the Church of Rome, from whence he was sent for the conversion of this island; so as, if I myself had lived in his days, for the resolution of a doubtful question I should as willingly have listened to the judgment of the Church of Rome as to the determination of any Church in the whole world: *so reverent an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church as it stood in those days*" (*Dissert. on the Religion of the Ancient Irish*, ch. viii.) This is a remarkable admission, when we consider how plainly, according to the acknowledgment of MILMAN and NEANDER, the Roman Church had asserted her universal supremacy by Divine right many years before the time of Pope Cœlestine and St. Patrick! In the General Council of Ephesus, Pope Cœlestine, according to NEANDER, "*claimed for himself a supreme judicatory authority*," and "*by the sovereign authority of the Apostolic See*" empowered St. Cyril of Alexandria to depose the heretical Patriarch Nestorius (Bohn's *Neander*, vol. iv. p. 145).

¹ Compare the words of St. Leo the Great (*Serm. et Epist. passim*), of Pope Simplicius (*Epist.* iv.), and of the Council of Rome, A.D. 494 (Labbe, ii. 1013). Sergius, Metropolitan of Cyprus, thus addresses Pope Theodore :—"O holy Head! Christ our God hath destined THY APOSTOLIC SEE TO BE AN IMMOVABLE FOUNDATION AND A PILLAR OF THE FAITH. For THOU art, as the Divine Word hath truly said, PETER, and ON THEE, AS A FOUNDATION-STONE, HAVE THE PILLARS OF THE CHURCH BEEN FIXED" (*Epist. ad Pap. Theod. Lect. in Sess. ii. Concil. Lat.* A.D. 649. Hardouin, Tom. iii. pp. 728, 729). "The writings of the Fathers," says HERGENRÖTHER, "whenever they speak of the Pope, are full of echoes and allusions to those Scriptural words, and what is said of Peter the Popes claim decidedly for themselves" (*Anti-Janus*, p. 63).

In the **Formula of Pope Hormisdas**, A.D. 517, which was signed by the Emperor Justinian, by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Epiphanius, John, and Mennas, by 2500 Oriental Bishops (see Dollinger's *Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 221), and confirmed by the Fathers of the **Eighth General Council**, it is said: "Because the statement of our Lord Jesus Christ, when He said, '*Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church*,' &c., cannot be set aside; this, which is said, is proved by the results; for in the **Apostolic See** religion has always been preserved without spot. . . . In which (See) is the perfect and true solidity of the **Christian religion**" (Hæc, quæ dicta sunt, rerum probantur effectibus, quia in Sede Apostolicâ est semper servata religio. . . . In quâ est integra et verax Christianæ religionis soliditas.—*Form. Hormisd. Episc. Orient. Præscript.* Denzinger's *Enchirid.* p. 42).

St. Columbanus, A.D. 608, writing in the name of the Irish Church, calls Rome "**the principal seat of the orthodox faith**" (Fidei orthodoxæ sedem principalem.—*Epist. ad Bonif. Pap.* Galland. Tom. xii. p. 353).

General Council of Constantinople, A.D. 680.—In this Council the Epistle of Pope Agatho was read, and received with acclamations by the assembled Fathers. Addressing the Emperor, he says: "Relying on his (Peter's) favouring protection, **this, his Apostolic Church, has never deviated from the way of truth in any way of error whatsoever**; and his authority, as that of the Prince of all the Apostles, the whole Church of Christ, and all the universal Synods, always and faithfully have in all things embraced and followed. . . . **Which Apostolic Church, by the grace of Almighty God, will never be convicted of erring from the path of Apostolic tradition, nor has it ever yielded or been depraved by heretical novelties**; but as it received in the beginning of the Faith from its founders, the Chief of the Apostles of Christ, it abides **untainted to the end, according to the divine promise of our Lord and Saviour Himself**, which in the holy Gospels He uttered to the Prince of His disciples: '*Peter, Peter, behold Satan hath desired to sift you as wheat; but I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not. And thou, when thou art converted, confirm thy brethren.*' Let your serene Clemency, then, consider that the Lord and Saviour of us all, whose gift faith is, and who promised that the faith of Peter should never fail, charged him to confirm his brethren; as it is well known to all that the Apostolic Pontiffs, my predecessors, have always fear-

lessly done.”¹ (Quæ [Eccl. Rom.] ejus annitente præsidio nunquam a viâ veritatis in qualibet erroris parte deflexa est . . . Quæ per Dei Omnipotentis gratiam a tramite Apostolicæ traditionis nunquam errasse probabitur, nec hæreticis novitatibus depravata succubuit, sed ut ab exordio fidei Christianæ percepit ab auctoribus suis Apostolorum Christi principibus, illibata fine tenus permanet, &c.—Labbe, Tom. vii. pp. 659, 662, ed. Venet. 1729; Hardouin, Tom. iii. pp. 1079, 1082).

II.—SUPREMACY OF ST. PETER'S SEE.

This Church Presides—It has a more powerful Headship—It is the Chief or Ruling Church and the Source of Ecclesiastical Unity—The Church in which the Primacy of the Apostolic See has always been in force—The First of all the Sees—The Head of all the Churches—Appointed by God to Rule over all the rest, and from which flow unto all the Rights of Venerable Communion—The Head of Pastoral Honour—By which, by Christ's Concession, the Dignity of all Priests is Confirmed—Which Confirms every Synod by its Authority, and without whose authority no Council can be held—Which Judges the whole Church and itself is Judged by none, &c.

St. Ignatius, A.D. 107, addresses the Roman Church as the one “**which Presides** (ἡ τις καὶ προκάθηται) in the place of the country of the Romans, all-godly, all-gracious, all-blessed, all-prospering, all-hallowed, and **Presiding in the Covenant of Love**” (προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης.²—*Epist. ad Rom. Proem.*) Cureton's trans-

¹ It is acknowledged by Protestant writers that this letter “asserted the Supremacy of the Roman See over the Eastern Church, and the absolute infallibility of its Bishops” (SMITH and WACE'S *Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.* vol. i. p. 60).

² “Il voit dans l'évêque de Rome l'hérétier de la prééminence de Pierre, de là le nom de προκαθήμενη τῆς ἀγάπης, ‘présidente du lien de la charité,’ qu'il décerne à l'Eglise” (ALZOG'S *Patrologie*, p. 64, Paris, 1877). It should be remarked that the word rendered “*preside*” is used in two other places by St. IGNATIUS, and in each place it implies *superior authority*:—προκαθήμενου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον Θεοῦ (*Epist. ad Magnes.* c. 6); τοῖς προκαθημένοις (*Ib.*): also, that in all his Epistles to other Churches, St. Ignatius invariably speaks of those Churches as simply “*being*” in such and such a place: “To the Church which *is* (τῇ οὐσῇ) in Ephesus;” “To the Church which *is* (τῇ οὐσαν) in Magnesia,” &c.

lation from the ancient Syriac version is as follows :—"To her who presideth in the place of the country of the Romans, who is worthy of God, and worthy of life and happiness and praise and remembrance, and is worthy of prosperity, and presideth in love, and is perfected in the law of Christ blameless" (*Corpus Ignatian.* 1849, p. 230).

St. Irenæus, A.D. 178 :—"With this Church (of Rome), on account of her more powerful Headship, it is necessary that every Church—that is, the faithful everywhere¹ dispersed—should agree," or "be in communion" (*Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potentiorē principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles.*—*Adv. Hær.* Lib. iii. c. 3).

The original Greek text of Irenæus having been lost, there has been much controversy regarding the word rendered "*principalitatem*" in the Latin version, which, on account of its perfect fidelity and great antiquity (Massuet shows that it was used by **Tertullian** at the end of the second century), is acknowledged by all to possess the highest authority. Salmasius and Massuet conjecture that it was *πρωτεῖον*;² Grabe, *ἀρχήν* or *αὐθεντίαν*. Armellini and Hergenröther prefer *αὐθεντίαν*; Griesbach, *ἀρχήν*; Thiersch and Gieseler, *πρωτεῖαν*; and Stieren, *αρχαιότητα*.

The controversy seems to have been set at rest by Schneemann (*S. Irenæi de Eccles. Rom. Principatu Test. Commentat. et Defens.* Friburg, 1870), who, after carefully examining all the passages in which "*principalitas*" occurs in the Latin version, and comparing them with the corresponding Greek in the fragments of Irenæus that have been preserved in the original, concludes :—"Quotiescunque

¹ The Protestant writers **THIERSCH** and **STIEREN** admit that in writers of St. Irenæus' time "*undique*" (*πανταχόθεν*) is often used as equivalent to "*ubique*" (*πανταχοῦ*). In another passage, Irenæus speaks of the preaching of the Church being "*everywhere*" (*undique*) the same (Lib. iii. c. 24, n. 1)—which fact he elsewhere expresses by saying that "*prædicatis veritatis ubique* lucit"—*πανταχῇ φαίνει* (Lib. i. c. 10, n. 2). In the text he uses the words "*eos qui sunt undique fideles*" as equivalent to "*omnem ecclesiam*;" and that by the latter term he meant *every Church throughout the world* is shown by his previous use (in the same chapter) of the words "*in omni ecclesiâ*," "*in toto mundo*," "*omnium ecclesiarum*." He is all throughout speaking of the Church "*quæ est universa, unam et eandem fidem habens in universo mundo*" (Lib. i. c. 10, n. 3. Comp. Lib. iii. c. 12, n. 7; and c. 24; Lib. iv. c. 33; c. 35, n. 3, &c.)

² This opinion they confirm by a passage in Lib. iv. c. 38, n. 3 :—*Πρωτεύει ἐν πᾶσι ὁ Θεὸς*, which the *Vetus Interpres* renders "*principalitatem* habebit in omnibus Deus." He also translates *ἀρχῆς*, occurring in Ephes. i. 21, by "*principalitatem*" (Lib. ii. c. 30, n. 9).

'*principalitas*' in versione Latina reperitur, auctoritatem, potestatem, præsertim supremam, divinam, significat, et quidem, si vox Græca nomen substantivum est, semper fere *ἀυθεντία*, semel *ἀρχή*, cum eadem tamen significatione, usurpatur" (p. 22). He examines, in like manner, the passages in which the Vetus Interpres uses the synonymous word "*principatus*," and concludes:—"Ergo viginti tribus versionis antiquæ locis '*principalitas*' vel synonyma vox '*principatus*' potestatem, dominationem, imperium significat. Nullum alium locum, ubi voces illæ positæ essent, toto opere perlecto, reperimus neque adversarii attulerunt."¹

Tertullian thus defines the word *principalitas*:—"Ad hoc discipere superest, *principalitas* ubi sit, id est, qui cui præest, ut cujus *principalitas* apparuerit, illa sit substantiæ massa," &c. (*De Animâ*, c. 13). "It remains to examine where lies *the supremacy*; in other words, which of the two *is superior* to the former; so that that with which the supremacy clearly lies shall be the essentially superior substance. . . . It is to the soul that you ascribe the supremacy, . . . the ruling power" (Holmes' *Tertullian*; Clark's *Ante-Nicene Christ. Lib.* vol. xv. p. 437).

The writers who refer the "potentior *principalitas*" of the Roman Church to her *Apostolic origin*, or *higher antiquity*, are refuted by Schneemann (*op. cit.*) St. Irenæus, in Lib. iii. c. 12, assigns a higher honour, as regards its *antiquity*, to the Church of **Jerusalem**, "*the metropolis of the citizens of the New Covenant*;" and in regard to their Apostolic foundation and great antiquity, the Churches of **Antioch**, **Corinth**, &c., were in no way inferior to that of Rome. What St. Irenæus declares regarding the latter is, that "on account of her more powerful Headship or Supremacy, **every** other Church must of necessity agree with or conform to her;" and that, by appealing to her tradition, "**all**" heretics, opposing it, stand utterly confounded. But it is clear that the Roman Church's claim to Apostolic origin or

¹ Replying to the author of No. 4 of the "Church Defence Tracts," Fr. ADDIS says:—"My opponent contends, that while in two places '*principalitas*' is used for principality and supremacy, in the others it is used for the '*pleroma*,' and for an 'original and primary being.' He forgets that this supremacy is specially emphasised by St. Irenæus (*cf.* Lib. i. 26, n. 1:—'*principalitas quæ est super universa*'); but, fortunately, we can bring matters to a crucial test. In two of the places (i. 26, 1, and i. 31, 1) in which we are told that '*principalitas*' does not mean supremacy, we have the original Greek (in *Philosoph.* x. 21, and in Theodoret, *Hæret. Fab.* i. 15). In both of these places the Greek word which answers to '*principalitas*' is *ἀυθεντία*, and for *ἀυθεντία* Liddell and Scott give but one rendering, viz., 'absolute sway'" (*Anglicanism and the Fathers*, p. 12).

high antiquity merely would not have had any binding effect or obligatory influence upon all other Churches, nor have been a sufficient proof or guarantee of the truth of her doctrine, even at the time when St. Irenæus wrote; for to such a claim the heretics would naturally have answered with Anglicans, that "As the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria had erred, so also had the Church of Rome erred," &c.

It may be observed that the Protestant translators of Irenæus, in Clark's *Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, render the passage in question: "For it is a matter of necessity that every Church should agree with this Church on account of *its pre-eminent authority*—that is, the faithful everywhere." Grabe and the earlier Protestant writers pretended that by "principalitas" the *civil principedom* of Rome was denoted—an interpretation now generally abandoned as untenable by all whose judgment is of any value. The fact that St. Irenæus wrote in the time of Pope Eleutherus (*i.e.*, between the year 177, when Marcus Aurelius was persecuting the Christians, and 192, which was the last of the Emperor Commodus), and that he himself describes it as *an age of persecution* (Lib. iv. c. 33, n. 9), is alone enough to show the absurdity of the interpretation referred to.

St. Cyprian, A.D. 248.—This Father, who teaches so plainly that "there is One Church, **founded by the Lord upon Peter, for the origin and purpose of unity**" (*Una ecclesia super Petrum origine unitatis et ratione fundata.—Epist. lxx. ad Januar.*), calls the **Roman Church**, in which is the See or Chair of Peter, "**the Chief or Ruling Church,¹ whence the Unity of the priesthood has its source**" (*Cathedram Petri et ecclesiam principalem unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.—Epist. lv. ed. Baluz.*)

Council of Sardica, A.D. 342:—"This will seem to be best, and by far most congruous, if the priests of the Lord from each of the several provinces refer to **the Head—that is, to the See of the**

¹ Compare the words of **St. Augustine**:—"The Roman Church, IN WHICH THE HEADSHIP (OR SUPREMACY) OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE HAS ALWAYS BEEN IN FORCE" (*In quâ semper apostolicæ cathedræ viguit principatus.—Epist. xliii.*); and of **Pope Anastasius II.**, A.D. 494:—"Through the ministry of my lowliness . . . may the See of Peter hold THE SUPREMACY ASSIGNED TO IT BY THE LORD OUR GOD IN THE UNIVERSAL CHURCH" (*Epist. i. ad Anastas. August.*) The absurdity of that interpretation of St. Cyprian's words which refers the Headship of the Roman Church, not to the fact of its being the See of the divinely appointed Head of the Church, "the Heir of Peter's administration," but to its being seated in the chief city of the heathen Roman Empire, will be sufficiently apparent on referring to the note in p. 59.

Apostle Peter" (Ad caput, id est, ad Petri apostoli sedem.¹—*Epist. Synod. ad Julium*. Labbe, Tom. ii. p. 661; Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 653).

St. Optatus, A.D. 370.—As the words of this Father are to be cited in the next Section, it will suffice to quote in this place the admission of the Protestant Church historian **Neander**, that "Optatus of Milevis . . . represents the Apostle Peter as the Head of the Apostles—as the representative of the unity of the Church and of the Apostolic power, who had received the Keys of the kingdom for the purpose of giving them to the others. . . . **In the Roman Church he perceives the indestructible Cathedra Petri. This stood in the same relation to the other Episcopal Churches as the Apostle Peter stood to the rest of the Apostles.** The Roman Church represents the one visible Church, the one Episcopate. There was one Apostolic power in Peter, from which the Apostolic powers of the others issued forth, as it were, like to so many different streams; and, in like manner, there is one Episcopal power in the Roman Church, from which the other Episcopal powers are but so many different streams" (*Hist. of the Church*, Bohn's ed. vol. iii. pp. 236, 237). .

St. Gregory of Nazianzum, A.D. 370, says:—"The faith (of **Rome**) was of old, and still is now, right, binding the whole West by

¹ Referring to this, **Pope Innocent**, A.D. 404, says:—"If any greater causes shall have arisen, let them, after the episcopal judgment, be referred to the Apostolic See, *as the Synod ordained and a blessed custom demands*" (Ad sedem apostolicam, sicut synodus statuit, et beata consuetudo exigit, post judicium episcopale referantur.—*Epist. ii. ad Victor. Rhothomag. Episc.* n. 6, ed. Coustant.)

The 3d, 4th, and 5th Canons of the **Council of Sardica** relate to the subject of APPEALS TO ROME (see HEFELE, *Hist. of Church Councils*, Eng. trans. vol. ii. pp. 112-129). The 3rd Canon is to this effect:—"If any Bishop is condemned (deposed), but thinks his cause a good one, so that a fresh sentence ought to be pronounced, then, out of respect to the memory of the Apostle Peter, a letter shall be addressed to Rome to Pope Julius; so that, if necessary, he may appoint a new Court composed of the Bishops near the province in question, and may himself appoint the judges" (Hef., *Op. cit.* p. 115). The 4th Canon adds: "That if a Bishop has been deposed by the sentence of those Bishops who are in the neighbourhood, and he desires again to defend himself, no other shall be appointed to the See until the Bishop of Rome has judged and decided thereon." In answer to the Gallican and Protestant objection that these Canons "*conferred new rights* on the Pope," HEFELE says that it has been "conclusively shown that this was not the case, but rather that the right of the Pope to receive appeals was involved in the idea of the Primacy as a divine institution, and had in fact been exercised before the Council of Sardica, which only expressly defined and declared it" (*Ib.* p. 122). MILMAN admits that two of these Canons "*established a general right of appeal from all parts of Christendom to Rome*" (*Hist. of Latin Christ.* B. ii. ch. 4, vol. i. p. 240).

the saving word ; as is just in her who presides over all, reverencing the whole harmonious teaching of God" (*Καθὼς δίκαιον τὴν πρόεδρον τῶν ὅλων*,—"Ολην σέβουσιν τὴν Θεοῦ συμφωνίαν.—*Carmen de Vitâ Suâ*, vv. 568–573, Tom. ii.)

St. Ambrose, with the **Council of Aquileia**, A.D. 381, calls the Roman Church "the Head of the whole Roman world (East and West) . . . whence flow unto all the rights of venerable communion" (*Totius Romani orbis caput, . . . inde enim in omnes venerandæ communionis jura dimanant*.—*Epist.* xi. n. 4, ed. Ben. Tom. ii. p. 811).

St. Siricius, Pope, A.D. 384:—"The Roman Church, the Head of the Body" (*Causas, de quibus ad Romanam ecclesiam, utpote ad caput tui corporis retulisti*.—*Epist.* i. *ad Himer.* n. 20. Galland. Tom. vii. p. 536). "To none of the Lord's priests is it allowable to be ignorant of the statutes of the Apostolic See, or of the venerable decisions of the Canons" (*Statuta sedis apostolicæ*.¹—*Ib.*)

St. Anastasius, Pope, A.D. 399:—"Certainly, care shall not be wanting on my part to guard the faith of the Gospel as regards my peoples, and to visit by letter, as far as I am able, the parts of my body throughout the divers regions of the earth" (*Partesque corporis mei per spatia diversa terrarum*.—*Epist.* i. *ad Joan. Hieros.* n. 5. Galland. viii.)

St. Jerome:—See next Section.

Council of Carthage, A.D. 416, to Pope Innocent:—"These proceedings of ours, Lord and Brother, we have thought are to be made known to your holy charity, that to the statutes of our lowliness may be added the authority of the Holy See, for the defence of the salvation of many, and the correction of the perversity of some"² (*Ut statutis nostræ mediocritatis etiam apostolicæ sedis*

¹ MILMAN says that "The answer of Siricius (to Himerius) is in the tone of one who supposes *that the usages of the Church of Rome were to be received as those of Christendom*" (*Hist. of Lat. Christ.* vol. i. p. 97). Dr. DOLLINGER says that "The Popes issued their decrees *for the Oriental Church no less than for the Western*" (*Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 225).

² "They implore," says MILMAN, "the dignity of the Apostolic Throne, of the successor of St. Peter, to complete and ratify that which is wanting to their more moderate power" (*Hist. of Lat. Christ.* B. ii. ch. 2, p. 154).

Regarding the *reply* of Pope Innocent to these appeals, **St. Augustine** remarked: "He wrote back to us on all these matters IN A MANNER THAT WAS RIGHT AND BECOMING IN THE PRELATE OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE" (*Epist.* clxxxvi. *Paulino*, n. 2). MILMAN says: "He did not pass by the opportunity of asserting, as an acknowledged maxim, the dignity of the Apostolic See, the source of

adhibeatur auctoritas, pro tuenda salute multorum, et quorundam perversitate etiam corrigendâ.—*Epist. xxvi. in Coustant's Epist. Rom. Pont.*)

Council of Milevis, A.D. 416:—"As the Lord, by the sovereign gift of His own grace, has placed you in the Apostolic See, . . . we beseech you that you would vouchsafe to apply your pastoral diligence to the great dangers, &c. . . . We think that . . . those who hold such pernicious opinions (Pelagians) will more easily yield to the authority of your Holiness, derived as it is from the authority of Holy Scripture" (*Quia te Dominus gratiæ suæ præcipuo munere in Sede Apostolicâ collocavit, talemque in nostris temporibus præstitit, . . . arbitramur, adjuvante misericordiâ Domini Dei nostri, qui te et regere consulentem, et orantem exaudire dignatur, auctoritati Sanctitatis tuæ, de Sanctarum Scripturarum auctoritate depromptæ, facilius eos . . . esse cessuros.*)—*Epist. Concil. Milev. Innocentio, ib. ; et ap. Op. S. August. Epist. clxxiv.*)

St. Innocent, Pope, A.D. 416:—"The Apostolic See, . . . the Head of the Churches" (*Sedi Apostolicæ, ad quam . . . quasi ad caput ecclesiarum, &c.*—*Epist. xvii. n. 1, ad Episc. Macedon.*) "The Head and Summit of the Episcopate" (*Ad nos quasi ad caput atque ad apicem episcopatus referre, ut consulta videlicet Sedes Apostolica ex ipsis rebus dubiis certum aliquid faciendumque pronunciet,*—*Epist. xxxvii. n. 1*). "Who is ignorant, that what was delivered to the Roman Church by Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and is even now preserved, ought to be observed by all; nor anything be superinduced or introduced which has not that authority, or which may seem to derive its pattern elsewhere; especially as it is manifest that no one has instituted Churches throughout the whole of Italy, the Gauls, Spain, Africa, and Sicily, and the interjacent islands, except those whom the venerable Apostle, or his Successors, constituted priests" (*Quis enim nesciat aut non advertat, id quod a principe apostolorum Petro Romanæ ecclesiæ tra-*

all Episcopacy, and the advantage of an appeal to a tribunal which might legislate for all Christendom" (*Hist. of Lat. Christ. B. ii. ch. 4, vol. i. p. 154*). "In the minds of the Roman Bishops," says NEANDER, "we perceive the idea beginning already to develop itself more clearly and distinctly, that to them, as the Successors and Representatives of the Apostle Peter, belonged the sovereign guidance of the whole Church. . . . It is impossible to doubt as to what the Popes, even as early as the fifth century, believed themselves to be, or would fain be, in relation to the rest of the Church, after having once listened to the language which they themselves hold on the subject" (*Bohn's Neander, vol. iii. p. 241, seq.*) He refers particularly to Pope Innocent's reply to the Council of Carthage.

ditum est, ac nunc usque custoditur, ab omnibus debere servari; nec superinduci aut introduci aliquid, quod auctoritatem non habeat, aut aliunde accipere videatur exemplum?—*Epist. ad Decentium*, xxv. n. 2). “If any greater causes shall have arisen, let them, after the episcopal judgment, be **referred to the Apostolic See**, as the Synod [of Sardica] ordained, and a blessed custom demands” (Si majores causæ in medium fuerint devolutæ, ad sedem Apostolicam, sicut Synodus statuit, et beata consuetudo exigit, post judicium episcopale referantur.—*Epist. ii. Victricio Rothomogens. Episc.* n. 6). See also the extracts from his replies to the **Councils of Carthage and Milevis** in next Section.

St. Augustine :—“Some of these men (Pelagians), before this pestilence was condemned also by the manifest **judgment of the Apostolic See**, might have been known to you, but whom you may now see of a sudden silent” (*Epist. cxci. Sixto*, n. 2). “For already on this cause (Pelagianism) the decisions of two Councils have been sent to the Apostolic See; **thence also the Rescripts have come: the cause is ended**” (Jam enim de hâc causâ duo concilia missa sunt ad Sedem Apostolicam, inde etiam rescripta venerunt. Causa finita est, utinam finiatur aliquando error.—*Serm. cxxxi. de Verb. Evang. Joann.* vi. n. 10). “**The Roman Church, in which the Supremacy of the Apostolic See has always been in force**” (Romana ecclesia, in quâ semper Apostolicæ Cathedræ viguit principatus.¹—*Epist. xliii. Glorio et cet.* n. 7). “I am held in the communion of the Catholic Church by **the succession of Pastors from the very Chair of the Apostle Peter**,” &c. (See context in preceding Section.) “When, therefore, we see so great help of God, so great progress and fruit, shall we hesitate to hide ourselves in the bosom of that Church which, even by the acknowledgment of the human race, **from the Apostolic See, through succession of Bishops, . . . has held the summit of authority? To be unwilling to give her the first place is surely either the highest impiety or headlong arrogance**” (Quæ ab Apostolica Sede per successiones episcoporum . . . culmen auctoritatis obtinuit? Cui nolle primas dare, vel summæ profecto impietatis est, vel præcipitis arrogantiae.—*De Utilit. Credend.* n. 35).

St. Zosimus, Pope, A.D. 418 :—“Although the tradition of

¹ Compare with this the passage before cited (p. 46) regarding St. PETER's supremacy :—“Who knows not that that **PRINCIPALITY OF THE APOSTLESHIP** is to be preferred to any Episcopate whatsoever?” (*De Bapt. Cont. Donat.* Lib. ii. n. 2).

the Fathers has assigned so great an authority to the Apostolic See, that no one should dare to dispute about a judgment given by it,¹ and that See by canons and regulations has kept to this; and the discipline of the Church, in the laws which it follows, still pays to the name of **Peter**, from whom that See descends, the reverence due; for canonical antiquity, by universal consent, willed that so great a power should belong to that Apostle,—a power also derived from the promise itself of Christ our God,—that he should loose what is bound, and bind what is loosed, &c. . . . Seeing then, that Peter is the head of so great authority, and that he has confirmed the statutes of all who have gone before us; and that by all laws and regulations, both human and **divine**, the Roman Church is strengthened; and you are not ignorant that we rule over his place, and are in possession also of the authority of his name; nevertheless, **though so great be our authority that none may reconsider our sentence,**" &c. (Quamvis patrum traditio Apostolicæ Sedi auctoritatem tantam tribuerit, ut de ejus judicio disceptare nullus auderet . . . Cum ergo tantæ auctoritatis Petrus caput sit, . . . ut tam humanis quam divinis legibus et disciplinis omnibus firmetur Romana ecclesia. . . . Cum tantum nobis esset auctoritatis, ut nullus de nostra possit retractare sententiâ, &c.—*Epist. xii. n. 1, ad Conc. Carth. ed. Coustant.*)

St. Boniface, Pope, A.D. 419:—“Never was it lawful to discuss again any matter which had once been decided by the Apostolic See” (Nunquam enim licuit de eo rursus, quod semel statutum est ab Apostolicâ Sede, tractari.—*Epist. xiii. ad Rufum, n.*

¹ The statements of NEANDER (iii. 248) and other Protestant writers, that Zosimus taught a different *doctrine* from his predecessor, Innocent I., and that the African Bishops resisted him on this ground, are altogether false. The controversy was solely regarding *the personal orthodoxy of Cælestius*. “The latter represented himself to Zosimus as perfectly orthodox, and obtained from him a mild treatment, as indeed Innocent had, in the case of his repentance, held out to him the same prospect; so that though for a time he deceived the Pontiff, he never at least received any sort of sanction to his errors, which were afterwards duly discovered” (*Anti-Janus*, Eng. trans. p. 78). St. AUGUSTINE himself distinctly denies that Zosimus had ever approved the Pelagian heresy (*Lib. ii. cont. Duas Epist. Pelag. ad Bonif. c. 3*). See Jungmann's *Dissert. Select. in Hist. Eccles. ii. p. 216*.

Regarding the case of APIARIUS, and the controversy about African appeals to Rome, referred to by Palmer, Pusey, and other Anglican writers, see ALLIES' *Dr. Pusey and the Ancient Church*; KENRICK'S *Primacy of the Holy See*, &c., p. 195, seq.; MURRAY *De Eccles.*, vol. iii. p. 718, seq.; BOTTALLA, *The Pope and the Church*, vol. i. pp. 140–152; JUNGSMANN'S *Dissert. Select. in Hist. Eccles. vol. ii. p. 217, seq.*

2, ed. Coustant. vel Galland.) Comp. "Nemo unquam Apostolico Culmini, de cujus judicio non licet retractari, manus obvias audacter intulit: nemo in hoc rebellis existit, nisi qui de se voluit judicari" (*Epist. xv. ad Episc. per Macedon. n. 5*). "The institution of the universal nascent Church began from the honour bestowed on blessed **Peter**, in whom its Government and Headship reside. For from him as its fountain-head did ecclesiastical discipline flow throughout all the Churches, when now the culture of religion had begun to make progress. Nor do the canons of Nicæa testify otherwise, inasmuch as they do not venture to make any regulations in his regard, seeing that nothing could be conferred that was superior to his own dignity, and knowing that all things had been given him by the words of Christ. **It is certain, then, that this See stands, in relation to the Churches spread over the whole world, as the Head is to its own members; from which Church whoso has cut himself off becomes an outcast from the Christian religion, since he has ceased to be in the same bonds of fellowship**" (*Hanc ergo ecclesiis toto orbe diffusis velut caput suorum certum est esse membrorum; a quâ se quisquis abscidit, fit religionis Christianæ extorris, cum in eâdem non coeperit esse compage.—Epist. xiv. n. 1, ad Episc. per Thessaliam*). "Assuredly, as the **Apostolic See holds the Supremacy** for this, that it may receive the lawful complaints of all, if in anything his (Rufus's) correction seemed to be excessive, it became you, by sending an embassy, to **appeal to Us, upon whom you may see the charge of all things devolves**. Let the novel presumption cease. . . . Let whosoever accounts himself a Bishop obey our ordinance" (*Quoniam ideo tenet Sedes Apostolica principatum, ut querelas omnium licentes acceptet; interpellari nos super hoc missa legatione convenerat, quos curam omnium rerum manere videatis. Cesset novella præsumptio. . . . Ordinationi nostræ pareat, quisquis se episcopum recognoscit.—Epist. xiv. ad Episc. per Thessal. n. 4*).

St. Prosper of Aquitaine, A.D. 429:—"Rome, the See of Peter, . . . made to the world the Head of Pastoral Honour, possesses by religion what she did not possess by arms" (*Sedes Roma Petri, quæ pastoralis honoris facta caput mundo, quicquid non possidet armis, religione tenet.—Carm. de Ingratis. Bibl. Max. Patr. Tom. viii. p. 106*).

Theodoret, to Pope Leo I. :—"If Paul, the herald of the truth, the trumpet of the Holy Ghost, hastened to the great Peter to convey from him the solution to those at Antioch, who were at issue

about living under the Law, how much more do we, poor and humble, run to your Apostolic Throne, to receive from you healing for the wounds of the Churches. For it pertains to you to have the Primacy in all things ; for your Throne is adorned with many prerogatives" (*Εἰ Παῦλος . . . πρὸς τὸν μέγαν ἔδραμε Πέτρον, . . . πολλῶ μᾶλλον ἡμεῖς, οἱ ευτελεῖς καὶ σμικροί, πρὸς τὸν ἀποστολικὸν ὑμῶν τρέχομεν θρόνον, ὥστε παρ' ὑμῶν λαβεῖν τοῖς τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἔλκεσι θεραπείαν. Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν τὸ πρωτεύειν ἀρμόττει. Πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ὑμέτερος θρόνος κοσμεῖται πληρονεκτήμασι.*¹—*Epist. cxiii. Leonis.* Op. Tom. iv. p. 1187.) "For that all-holy Throne has the office of heading the Churches of the whole world for many reasons, &c. (*Ἔχει γὰρ ὁ πανάγιος θρόνος ἐκεῖνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διὰ πολλὰ, κ.τ.λ.*—*Epist. cxvi. Renato.* Ib. p. 1197). See context in p. 67.

St. Leo the Great:—"These (Peter and Paul), O Rome, are they who have advanced thee to this glory, to be a holy nation, a chosen people, a priestly and royal city ; that by the See of blessed Peter, made the Head of the Universe, thou mightest rule more widely by divine religion than by earthly empire" (*Ut per sacram beati Petri Sedem caput orbis effecta, latius præsideres religione divina quam dominatione terrenâ.*—*Serm. lxxxii. in Natal. Apost. Pet. et Paul.* ed. Baller.) "The First of all the Sees, . . . the Head, . . . that See which the Lord appointed to preside over the rest" (*Prima omnium Sedes, . . . quam ceteris omnium Dominus statuit præsidere.*—*Epist. cxx. c. 1, ad Theodoret.*) "Even amongst the most blessed Apostles, in likeness of honour there was a certain distinction of power ; and whereas the election of all was equal, to one, nevertheless, was it given to be pre-eminent over the others. Out of which mould the distinction also among Bishops

¹ "But," he continues, "I AWAIT THE SENTENCE OF YOUR APOSTOLIC THRONE, and I pray and beseech your Holiness to aid me, who appeal to your upright and just judgment ; and to order me to hasten to you, and to show forth my teaching, which follows in the footsteps of the apostles. . . . But do not, I pray you, reject my supplication, nor despise my miserable grey hairs so insulted after so many labours. But, above all things, I beg to learn from you whether I must needs acquiesce in this unjust deposition or not ; for I AWAIT YOUR SENTENCE. And should you command me to abide by what has been adjudged, I will so abide ; and to no one will I give further trouble, but will await the just judgment of our God and Saviour" (*Ἐγὼ δὲ τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ ὑμῶν θρόνου περιμένω τὴν ψήφον καὶ ἱκετεύω καὶ ἀντιβολῶ τὴν ἀγιότητα, ἐπαμῦναι μοὶ τὸ ὀρθὸν ὑμῶν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπικαλουμένῳ κριτήριον, καὶ κελεῦσαι δραμεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς, καὶ ἐπιδείξαι μοῦ τὴν διδασκαλίαν τοῖς ἀποστολικοῖς ἔχνεσιν ἐπομένην, κ.τ.λ.* (*Ib.*)

has arisen, and by a great ordering it was provided that all should not claim to themselves all things, but that in every province there should be one whose sentence should be accounted first amongst the brethren; and others again, constituted in the greater cities, should undertake a wider care; **through whom the care of the Universal Church should converge to the one See of Peter, and no part be anywhere at variance with its Head**" (*Per quos ad unam Petri Sedem universalis ecclesiæ cura conflueret, et nihil usquam a suo capite dissideret.*—*Epist. xiv. ad Anastas. Thessal. Episc. c. 1.*¹

Canon of St. Patrick, A.D. 450:—"If any case of extreme difficulty shall arise, . . . let it be referred to the See of the chief Bishop of the Irish (that is, of Patrick). . . . But if it cannot easily be decided in that See, . . . **we have decreed that it be sent to the Apostolic See, that is, to the Chair of the Apostle Peter, which holds authority in the city of Rome**" (*Ad Sedem Apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri Apostoli Cathedram auctoritatem Romæ nobis habentem.*—*Can. S. Patric.*² *Vide* Bishop Moran's *Essays on the Early Irish Church*, Dublin, 1864, chap. ii., and *Appendix*, No. vi. p. 304).

Bishops of Spain, A.D. 463, to Pope Hilary:—"Even though

¹ **Galla Placidia**, mother of the Emperor Valentinian, A.D. 450:—"On this account, then, will your Clemency withstand this great agitation, and enjoin that the true faith of the Catholic religion be maintained immaculate, so that Flavian, according to the sentence and definition of THE APOSTOLIC SEE, TO WHICH WE, AS WELL AS EVERY ONE ELSE, OWE HOMAGE AS SUPREME, may remain unharmed in his priestly office, and that this cause may be referred to the Council of the Apostolic See, TO WHICH SEE, AS THE PRINCE OF THE APOSTLES, WHO MERITED TO RECEIVE THE HEAVENLY KEYS, DECREED, THE SUPREMACY OVER THE EPISCOPATE BELONGS" (*Epist. ad Theodosium, ap. Leonis M. Epist. lvi. ed. Ballerin.*)

² Mr. WILLIS NEVINS writes:—"The ancient MS. in which this decree is preserved was transcribed in A.D. 807, and the original which was copied was believed to be written by St. Patrick. A Synod was held in A.D. 630, and at this Synod, which was not so very far removed from St. Patrick's lifetime, the above decree *was acted on*. Furthermore, an Irish saint, Cummián, who was there present, wrote four years later a letter on the Paschal question, and in that letter says: 'In accordance with the canonical decree, that if questions of grave moment arise, they shall be referred to the Head of cities, we sent such as we knew were wise and humble men to Rome, as children to their mother' (*Usher, Syllog. Epist. n. 30*). Less than a hundred years after this Synod another was held, in which a collection of canons was made, and amongst the canonical enactments which it registers is the identical decree of St. Patrick:—"Patricius ait: Si quæ difficiles quæstiones in hac insula oriantur, ad Sedem Apostolicam referantur'" (*Ireland and the Holy See*, p. 70).

no necessity of ecclesiastical discipline had supervened, we might indeed have had recourse to the **privilege of your See**, whereby the Keys having been received after the resurrection of the Saviour, the matchless preaching of the most blessed Peter had for its object the enlightening of all men throughout the whole world; **the supremacy of whose (Peter's) Vicar, as it is eminent, so is it to be feared and loved of all men.** Accordingly, we, thoroughly adoring in you the God whom you serve blamelessly, have recourse to the faith praised by the mouth of the Apostle, **thence seeking for answers, whence nothing by error, nothing by presumption, but all with pontifical deliberation is prescribed**” (*Expetendum revera nobis fuerat illud privilegium Sedis vestræ, quo susceptis regni clavibus post resurrectionem Salvatoris per totum orbem beatissimi Petri singularis prædicatio universorum illuminationi prospexit; cujus vicarii principatus sic ut eminet, ita metuendus est ab omnibus et amandus.*—*Epist. Episc. Tarracon. Hilario*. Labbe, iv. p. 1033).

General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451:—“The most reverend Bishop Paschasinus, the Legate of the Apostolic Throne, having, together with those who came with him, stood in the midst, said: ‘We have the instructions of the most blessed and Apostolic Bishop of the city of Rome, **the Head of all the Churches**, in which he has vouchsafed to set forth that Dioscorus is not to sit in the Council.’ . . . The most reverend Bishop Lucentius, Legate of the Apostolic See, said: ‘Let him (Dioscorus) render an account of his own judgment; for he has seized a power of judging which he possessed not, and has presumed to hold a Council without the **authority of the Apostolic Throne, which has never been done, nor lawful to do**’ (*Κεφαλῆς ὑπάρχοντος πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν. . . . Σύνοδον ἐτόλμησε ποιῆσαι ἐπιτροπῆς δίχα τοῦ ἀποστολικοῦ θρόνου, ὅπερ οὐδέποτε γέγονεν, οὐδὲ ἐξὸν γενέσθαι.*¹—*Act. i.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 94; Hardouin, Tom. ii. p. 68).

¹ **Pope Julius** had long before (A.D. 342) written to the Arianising Eastern Bishops:—“Are you ignorant that this has been the custom, for word to be written first to Us, and so what is just **TO BE DECREED FROM THIS PLACE?**” (*Ἡ ἀγνοεῖτε ὅτι τοῦτο ἔθος ἦν, πρότερον γράφεσθαι ἡμῖν, καὶ οὕτως ἐνθεν ὀρίζεσθαι τὰ δίκαια.*—*Epist. ad Eusebian.* n. 21). The Greek historian **Socrates**, A.D. 429, says:—“But neither was Julius present (at the Synod of Antioch), nor had he sent any one as his representative, although **THE ECCLESIASTICAL CANON DECREES THAT THE CHURCHES SHOULD NOT PASS LAWS WITHOUT CONSULTING THE ROMAN BISHOP**” (*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 8). Julius complained also that they had not invited him to their Synod: “**WHEN AN ECCLESIASTICAL CANON DECREES THAT THE CHURCHES SHOULD NOT PASS LAWS WITHOUT CONSULTING THE ROMAN BISHOP**” (*τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κανόνος κελεύοντος μὲ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*

Victor of Vite, A.D. 480 :—"The Roman Church, which is **the Head of all the Churches**" (*Ecclesia Romana, quæ caput est omnium ecclesiarum.*—*De Persecut. Afric.* Lib. iii. Bibl. Max. PP. Tom. viii. p. 682).

Pope Felix III., A.D. 485 :—"The Apostolic See, by which, by Christ's concession, the dignity of all priests is confirmed" (*Epist. v. Flavii. Epist. Constantinop.*) "The three hundred and eighteen Bishops assembled at Nicæa referred the confirmation and authority of matters to the holy Roman Church" (*Quam vocem [Tu es Petrus, &c.] sequentes, trecenti decem et octo sancti patres apud Nicæam congregati confirmationem rerum atque auctoritatem*

τῆς Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.—*Ib.* Lib. ii. c. 17). Sozomen, A.D. 440, comments on Pope Julius's answer to the Arian Bishops as follows :—"IT IS A SACERDOTAL LAW THAT THE THINGS DONE CONTRARY TO THE SENTIMENT OF THE BISHOP OF THE ROMANS BE LOOKED UPON AS NULL" (*Εἶναι γὰρ νόμον ιερατικὸν ὥς ἀκυρὰ ἀποφαίνειν τὰ παρὰ γνώμην πραττόμενα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου.*—*Hist. Eccles.* iii. 10).

Regarding the "28th Canon" of the Council of Chalcedon,—which raised the See of Constantinople to the first *Patriarchal* rank after the Roman,—it should be observed :—

10. THIS CANON WAS NOT THE ACT OF THE ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL, but was passed by a small minority of the Bishops (about 200 out of 600 or 630) after the Papal Legates, who presided over the Council, had quitted the Church of St. Euphemia. On its coming to their knowledge, the Pope's Legates protested strenuously against it. Dean MILMAN writes :—"This canon, it is averred, was passed by a few bishops, who lingered behind the rest of the Council : *it claims only the subscription of a hundred and fifty prelates, and those chiefly of the diocese of Constantinople.* It is not, indeed, likely that the Alexandrian Church, though depressed by the ignominious degradation of its head, still less that the more ancient Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem, should thus tamely acquiesce in the assumption of superiority (unless it were in a measure enforced by the imperial power) by the modern and un-Apostolic Church of Byzantium" (*Hist. of Lat. Christ,* B. ii. ch. 5).

20. THE COUNCIL ITSELF, in its Synodical Letter to Pope Leo, distinctly acknowledged THAT THE WHOLE AUTHORITY AND VALIDITY OF ITS DECREES DEPENDED ON HIS SANCTION AND CONFIRMATION :—*Πᾶσαν ὑμῖν τῶν πεπραγμένων τὴν δύναμιν ἐγνωρίσαμεν εἰς σύστασιν ἡμετέραν καὶ τῶν παρ' ὑμῶν πεπραγμένων βεβαίωσιν τε καὶ συγκαταθεσιν* (*Epist. Synod. Leonis.* Labbe, Tom. iv.; et ap. Leon. *Epist.*, ed. Ballerin., xcviij.); and besought his confirmation in these words :—"WE BEG OF YOU, THEREFORE, TO HONOUR WITH YOUR SANCTION OUR JUDGMENT : AND AS WE HAVE CONTRIBUTED OUR HARMONIOUS AGREEMENT WITH THE HEAD IN ALL GOOD THINGS, SO LET YOUR SUPREMACY DEAL AS IS BECOMING WITH YOUR CHILDREN" (*Παρακαλοῦμεν τῶνυν, τίμησον καὶ ταῖς σαῖς ψήφοις τὴν κρίσιν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τῇ κεφαλῇ τὴν ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς συμφωνίαν εἰσενηνόχαμεν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ κορυφὴ τοῖς παισὶν ἀναπληρώσοι τὸ πρέπον.*—*Ib.*) The EMPEROR MARCIAN, also, entreated the Pope to confirm the Acts of the Council (including the 28th Canon), and acknowledged that their whole validity depended on his sanction (*Int. Epist. Leonis Mag.*, Ep. c., cx., ed. Baller.) ANATOLIUS, the Patriarch of

sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ detulerunt.—*Epist. ad Presbyt. et Archimandritas CP. et in Bithyn. constit.*; ap. Thiel, *Epist.* xi.; et ap. *Concil.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 1126).

St. Gelasius, Pope, A.D. 492:—"The Canons themselves willed the appeals of the whole Church to be referred to the examination of this See. From it they decreed, also, that no appeal whatever ought to be made;¹ and thereby that it judged the

Constantinople, writing to excuse himself in regard to the Canon in question, said:—"THE WHOLE FORCE AND CONFIRMATION OF THE ACTS WAS RESERVED FOR THE AUTHORITY OF YOUR HOLINESS" (Cum et sic gestorum vis omnis et confirmatio auctoritati vestræ Beatitudinis fuerit reservata.—*Epist.* cxxxii. c. 4. Ibid.).

30. POPE LEO I., whilst confirming the *dogmatic* decisions of the Council, utterly refused to sanction the 28th Canon, which he declared to be in opposition to the Canons of the First Council of Nice. To the Emperor MARCIAN he wrote:—"Let the City of Constantinople have the glory that belongs to it, . . . but the sphere of politics and the sphere of religion are two distinct things. Neither can any other erection be stable except the Rock which the Lord placed in the foundation. He who covets what is not his due loses even what belongs to him. Let the foresaid Bishop (Anatolius) be content that through the assistance of your piety AND BY MY FAVOUR he holds the Episcopal See of such a city (Constantinople). Let him not underrate a royal city, WHICH, HOWEVER, HE CANNOT MAKE AN APOSTOLIC SEE" (Satis sit prædicto, quod vestræ pietatis et mei favoris assensu episcopatum tantæ urbis obtinuit. Non dedignetur regiam civitatem, quam Apostolicam non potest facere Sedem.—*Epist.* civ. c. 3). To the Empress PULCHERIA he wrote:—"All decrees, then, of Episcopal Councils which contravene the regulations contained in the Canons of Nice, we, seconded by your faithful piety, MAKE VOID, AND BY THE AUTHORITY OF BLESSED PETER THE APOSTLE, BY ONE GENERAL CENSURE WE INVALIDATE THEM" (In irritum mittimus, et per auctoritatem beati Petri Apostoli generali prorsus definitione cassamus.—*Epist.* cv. c. 3).

40. "THE EMPEROR MARCIAN," says Dr. Dollinger, "surrendered it (the 28th Canon), and extolled the constancy of the Pontiff in maintaining the rights of the Church. THE WHOLE WESTERN CHURCH REPUDIATED THE CANON, AND THE GREEKS THEMSELVES, UNTIL THE TIME OF PHOTIUS, DID NOT PLACE IT IN THEIR COLLECTIONS; hence Theodore Lector and John Scholasticus, who lived in the sixth century, enumerate only twenty-seven canons of the Council of Chalcedon" (*Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 252).

It was not until the year 1215, at which date the city of Constantinople was occupied by the Franks and a Latin Patriarch placed in that See, that the Fourth General Council of the Lateran, in its 5th Canon, sanctioned the honorary precedence of the Patriarch of Constantinople over those of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Since that time the "28th Canon" of Chalcedon has been inserted in the Canon Law of the Latin Church. (See Bottalla's *Pope and the Church*, pp. 94-109.)

¹ "In reply to the assertion that what had been done by Rome was contrary to the Canons of the Church, Gelasius deigns in some parts of his letter to rest his case on canonical authority; . . . but in other parts he plainly asserts the supremacy of the Apostolic See over the whole Church as due to the original commis-

whole Church, and that itself passed under the judgment of none. . . . Timothy of Alexandria, Peter of Antioch, Peter, Paul, John, not one, but many, bearing the name of the priesthood, were deposed by the sole authority of the Apostolic See. . . . The Canons cannot summon the Apostolic See to judgment. . . . Therefore, we are in no fear lest the apostolic judgment be reversed, which both the voice of Christ, and the traditions of the Fathers, as also the authority of the Canons support, in such wise that rather it may always judge the whole Church” (Ipsi sunt canones qui appellationes totius ecclesiæ ad hujus Sedis examen voluere deferri. Ab ipsâ vero nusquam prorsus appellari debere sanxerunt, ac per hoc illam de totâ ecclesiâ judicare, ipsam ad nullius commeare judicium, &c.—*Epist. iv. Commonit. ad Faustum*. Labbe, iv. p. 1169; et ap. *Epist. Rom. Pont.*, ed. Thiel, 1867, Tom. i. p. 343, *Epist. x. n. 5*). **The first See both confirms every Synod by its authority and guards by its continuous rule, by reason, to wit, of its supremacy, which, received by the Apostle Peter from the mouth of the Lord, the Church nevertheless sanctioning, it both always has held and retains. . . . We will not pass over in silence what every Church throughout the world knows, that the See of the blessed Apostle Peter has the right¹ to absolve from what has been bound by the sentence of any prelates whatsoever, in that it has the right of judging of the whole Church; neither is it lawful for any one to pass judgment on its judgment, seeing that the Canons have willed that it may be appealed to from any part of the world, but that from it no one be permitted to appeal”** (Quæ et unamquamque synodum suâ auctoritate confirmat, et continuatâ moderatione custodit pro

sion of Christ to St. Peter, and as having always existed prior to, and independent of, all Synods and Canons” (SMITH and WACE's *Dict. of Christ. Biog and Literat.* vol. ii. p. 618).

¹ “In his address to the Bishops of Dardania he enlarges on its being the function of the Roman See, not only to carry out the decisions of Synods, but even to give such decisions their whole authority. Nay, the purpose of Synods is spoken of as being simply to express the assent of the Church at large to what the Pope had already decreed, and what was therefore already binding. This, he says, had been the case in the instance of the Council of Chalcedon. Further instances are alleged of Popes having, on their own mere authority, reversed the decisions of Synods, absolved those whom Synods had condemned, and condemned those whom Synods had absolved. The cases of Athanasius and Chrysostom are cited as examples of the exercise of such power. Lastly, any claim of Constantinople (contemptuously spoken of as in the diocese of Heraclea) to be exempt from the judgment of ‘the First See’ is put aside as absurd, since ‘the power of a secular kingdom is one thing, the distribution of ecclesiastical dignities another.’”—(SMITH and WACE, &c., *ib.* p. 619).

suo scilicet principatu, quem B. Petrus Domini voce perceptum, ecclesiâ nihilominus subsequente, et tenuit semper et retinet. . . . Non reticemus quod cuncta per mundum novit ecclesia, quoniam quorumlibet sententiis ligata pontificum Sedes B. Petri Apostoli jus habeat resolvendi, utpote quæ de omni ecclesiâ fas habeat judicandi, neque cuiquam de ejus liceat judicare judicio; siquidem ad illam de quâlibet mundi parte canones appellari voluerint, ab illâ autem nemo sit appellare permissus.—*Epist. xiii. ad Episc. Dardan.* Labbe, iv. p. 1200; et ap. Thiel, p. 399, *Epist. xxvi. n. 5*).

Council of Rome, A.D. 494:—"The holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church has been raised above the other Churches, not by any synodal decrees, but from the evangelic voice of our Lord and Saviour has it obtained the supremacy, He saying, '*Thou art Peter, &c.*'" (*Sancta Romana, Catholica et Apostolica Ecclesia nullis synodicis constitutis cæteris ecclesiis prælata est, sed evangelicâ voce Domini et Salvatoris nostri primatum obtinuit, Tu es Petrus, inquit, et super hanc petram, &c.*—*Gelas. Decret. de Script. Canon. in Concil. Rom. ed.* Denzinger's *Enchiridion*, p. 41, ed. 1874).

St. Avitus of Vienne, A.D. 495:—"Love not less in your Church the See of Peter than in the state the head of the world. . . . If the Pope of that city is called into doubt, not a Bishop, but the Episcopate will at once seem to be in danger" (*Nec minus diligatis in ecclesiâ vestrâ Sedem Petri quam in civitate apicem mundi. . . . Si Papa Urbis vocatur in dubium, episcopatus jam videbitur non episcopus vacillare.*—*Epist. xxxi. ad Faustum et Symmachum.* Galland. x. p. 724).

Code of Justinian, A.D. 533:—"Yielding honour to the Apostolic See and to your Holiness, and honouring your Holiness as one ought to honour a father, we have hastened to bring to the knowledge of your Holiness all things that relate to the state of the Churches; since it has always been a chief study on our part to guard the unity of your Apostolic See and the status of the holy Churches of God. . . . Therefore we have hastened to subject all the priests of the whole Eastern district, and to unite them to the See of your Holiness. . . . For we do not allow of any point, however manifest and indisputable it be, which relates to the state of the Churches not being brought to the cognisance of your Holiness, since you are the Head of all the holy Churches" (*Nec enim patimur, quidquam quod ad ecclesiarum statum pertinet, quamvis manifestum et indubitatum sit quod movetur, ut non etiam vestræ innotescat sanctitati, quæ est caput omnium sanctarum ecclesiarum.*

—*Cod. Justinian., ad Joann. II. Pap. Ep. 3, Lib. vii. Cod. i. 1*). “Nor do we allow that any of those things concerning ecclesiastical institution should fail to be brought before his Holiness, as being **the Head of all the holy priests of God**, and because as often as heretics have arisen in these parts they have been repressed by the sentence and judgment of that **Holy See**” (*Ib.*, Lib. i. tit. i. l. 7. *Epist. ad Epiphan. Episc. Constantinop.*)

Ennodius of Ticenum, A.D. 510:—“By the voice of holy Pontiffs the dignity of his (Peter's) See has been made venerable in the whole world, since all the faithful everywhere are submitted to it, and it is marked out as the **Head of the whole body**” (Mansi, *Concil. Tom. viii. p. 284*).

St. Gregory the Great, Pope, A.D. 604:—“As to what they say concerning the Church of Constantinople, who doubts that it is **subject to the Apostolic See**? This is constantly avowed by the most pious Emperor, and by our Brother, the bishop of that city” (Nam de Constantinopolitanâ Ecclesiâ quod dicunt, quis eam dubitet Sedi Apostolicæ esse subjectam? Quod et piissimus dominus Emperor, et frater noster ejusdem civitatis episcopus assidue profitentur.—*Lib. ix. Epist. xii.*) “The Apostolic See, **the Head of all the Churches**” (Apostolica Sedes omnium Ecclesiarum caput est.—*Lib. xiii. Epist. xlv. c. 2*). “Whereas he (the Byzantine Primate of Africa) owns himself **subject to the Apostolic See**; when Bishops commit a fault, I know not what Bishop is not subject to it; but when there is no fault to be punished, all, by the rule of humility, are equal” (Quod se dicit Sedi Apostolicæ subjici: si quæ culpa in Episcopis invenitur, nescio quis ei episcopus subjectus non sit. Cum vero culpa non exigit, omnes, secundum rationem humilitatis æquales sunt.—*Lib. ix. Epist. lix.*)

St. Columbanus, A.D. 608, in his Epistle to Pope Boniface IV., says:—“We are Irish, inhabitants of the furthestmost part of the world, receiving nothing beyond the evangelic and apostolic doctrine. None of us has been a heretic, none a Jew, none a schismatic; but the faith, just as it was at first delivered by you, the successors, to wit, of the holy Apostles, is held unshaken. . . . Purity is to be reputed not to the stream but to **the fountain-head**. . . . We are, as I said before, **bound to the Chair of Peter**. For although Rome is great and illustrious, it is only through this Chair that she is great and renowned among us; and if it can be said, on account of Christ's two Apostles (Peter and Paul), . . . you are almost heavenly, and **Rome is the Head of the Churches of all the**

world, saving the singular prerogative of the place of the Lord's resurrection" (Fides, sicut a vobis primum sanctorum scilicet apostolorum successoribus tradita est, inconcussa tenetur. . . . Non rivo puritas, sed fonti reputanda est. . . . Nos enim, ut ante dixi, devincti sumus cathedræ sancti Petri: licet enim Roma magna est et vulgata, per istam cathedram tantum apud nos est magna et clara, . . . et Roma orbis terrarum caput est ecclesiarum salvâ loci dominicæ resurrectionis singulari prærogativa.—*Epist. ad Bonif. Pap.* Galland. Tom. xii. pp. 352–354).

Stephen, Bishop of Dora, first member of the Synod of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his petition read in the Lateran Council under Pope Martin, A.D. 649, calls Rome "**the Supreme See, which rules and is set over all**," the See of "the great Peter, Head of the Apostles," &c. (Τῇ πασῶν ἀρχούσῃ καὶ ὑπερκειμένη καθέδρᾳ, λέγω δὲ τῇ καθ' ὑμᾶς κορυφαίᾳ καὶ ὑπερφυεῖ, κ.τ.λ.—*Ap. Hardouin, Concil.* Tom. iii. p. 712; *Mansi*, Tom. x. p. 894).

In the **Second General Council of Nice**, A.D. 787, the letters of Pope Hadrian to Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, were read and approved. In these letters Hadrian says:—"Whose (Peter's) See shines forth in Primacy over the whole Church, and is Head of all the Churches of God. Wherefore the same blessed Peter the Apostle, governing the Church by the command of the Lord, left nothing uncared for, but held everywhere, and holds, supreme authority" (Οὗ ὁ θρόνος εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην πρωτεύων διαλάμπει, καὶ κεφαλὴ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ ὑπάρχει. "Οθεν ὁ αὐτὸς μακάριος Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος, τῷ τοῦ Κυρίου προστάγματι ποιμαίνων τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, οὐδεν παραλέλοιπεν, ἀλλ' ἐκράτησε πάντοτε καὶ κρατεῖ τὴν ἀρχήν). Hadrian then requires Tarasius to adhere to "**Our Apostolic See, which is the Head of all the Churches of God**" (Τῷ ἡμετέρῳ ἀποστολικῷ θρόνῳ, ὅστις ἐστὶ κεφαλὴ πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ), "and in profound sincerity of mind and heart to guard the sacred and orthodox form of faith" (*Hardouin, Concil.* Tom. iv. p. 101; *Labbe*, Tom. vii.) The whole Synod cried out in acclamation, "The Holy Synod so believes, so is convinced, so defines" (*Ib.* *Hard.* p. 104).

III.—UNION WITH ST. PETER'S SEE A NECESSARY TEST OF ORTHODOXY.

The Roman Church teaches other Churches with Divine Authority—With her all other Churches must agree in Faith, since she is the Fountain of Truth for all Christians—She is the Root and Womb of the Catholic Church—Communion with her Bishop is communion with the Catholic Church—By communion with this Church of Rome, i.e., with her Bishop, the faithful throughout the world are preserved from error, evince their orthodoxy, and prove their right to the title of Catholics—In this Church St. Peter always lives and presides, and gives the truth of Faith to those seeking it, &c.

St. Clement of Rome, Pope:—"The Church¹ of God which is at Rome to the Church of God which is at Corinth. . . . Brethren, the sudden and unexpected dangers and calamities that have fallen upon us" (the persecution under Domitian, A.D. 92) "have, we fear,

¹ St. CLEMENT writes in the name of the Roman CHURCH, it being the ancient custom to assemble the clergy on occasions of great importance, and to act with their advice and concurrence; also to identify the Bishop and his Church in such acts, according to the saying of St. CYPRIAN, that "the Church is the people united with the priest and the flock following its pastor; whence you are to know that the Bishop is in the Church and the Church in the Bishop," &c. (*Epist. lxi. ad Pupian.*) St. PAUL, in like manner, places at the head of most of his Epistles, together with his own name, that of Timothy, Sylvanus, or Sosthenes (1 *Cor. i. 1*; 2 *Tim. i. 1*; *Phil. i. 1*); and, in his Epistle to the Galatians, writes in union with "all the brethren who were with him" (*Gal. i. 2*).

The Epistle was written in reply to an APPEAL FROM THE CHURCH OF CORINTH, and for the purpose of repressing the schism that had broken out in that Church. **St. Irenæus** says:—"Under this Clement, then, there having happened no small dissension among the brethren who were at Corinth, THE CHURCH WHICH IS AT ROME WROTE A MOST POWERFUL LETTER (*ἡ καθ' ὁμάδα γραφή*—*litteras potentissimas, Vers. Lat.*) TO THE CORINTHIANS, GATHERING THEM TOGETHER TO PEACE, AND REPAIRING THEIR FAITH, AND ANNOUNCING THE TRADITION WHICH IT HAD SO RECENTLY RECEIVED FROM THE APOSTLES" (*Adv. Hær. Lib. iii. c. 3*). **Eusebius** says:—"Of this Clement there is one acknowledged Epistle extant, a great and wonderful one, which he wrote as from the Church of the Romans to that of the Corinthians. This, we know, was PUBLICLY READ IN MANY OF THE CHURCHES, BOTH IN FORMER TIMES AND IN OUR OWN; and that at that time a sedition disturbed those at Corinth HEGSIPPUS is a most trustworthy witness" (*Hist. Eccles. Lib. iii. c. 16*). The earlier writer, **Dionysius of Corinth**, speaks of THE CUSTOM OF READING POPE CLEMENT'S AND POPE SOTER'S EPISTLES PUBLICLY IN THE CHURCHES. "To-day," he says, in his Epistle to Pope Soter, "we have passed the Lord's holy day, in which we have read your Epistle; in reading which we shall always

made us the more slow in our consideration of those things which you required of us ; as also of that wicked and detestable sedition, so unbecoming the elect of God, which a few heady and self-willed men have fomented to such a degree of madness, that your venerable and renowned name, so worthy of all men to be beloved, is greatly blasphemed thereby. . . . It is a shame, my beloved, yea, a very great shame, and unworthy of your Christian profession, to hear that the most firm and ancient Church of the Corinthians should, by one or two persons, be led into a sedition against its priests. And this report is come, not only unto us, but to those also that differ from us ; inasmuch that the name of the Lord is blasphemed through your folly, and even ye yourselves are brought into danger by it. . . . Do ye, therefore, who laid the first foundation of this schism, submit yourselves unto your priests, and be instructed unto repentance, bending the knee of your hearts. Learn to be subject, laying aside all proud and arrogant boasting of your tongues ; for it is better for you to be found little, and approved in the sheep-

have our minds stored with admonitions, as we shall also from that written unto us before by Clement" (*Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. iv. c. 23*).

THE APPEAL of the Corinthians to the Roman Church was made, it should be observed, while the Apostle St. John was still living, either at Patmos or Ephesus ; and it is of itself a remarkable evidence and acknowledgment of that "MORE POWERFUL HEADSHIP" of the Roman Church of which St. IRENÆUS speaks, and of that "PRESIDENCY IN THE COVENANT OF LOVE" which St. IGNATIUS had, at a still earlier period, accounted as one of her prerogatives. See Bishop FREPPEL'S *Les Pères Apostoliques*, p. 133, *seq.*

ST. CLEMENT'S EPISTLE was, until lately, known only through a single MS.—the great Alexandrian MS., in 4 vols. folio (the first three vols. containing the whole of the Old Testament in Greek, and the fourth the New Testament, with the two Epistles of Clement), which is said to have been written by Theckla, a noble Egyptian lady, cir. A.D. 350, and of which one leaf, containing about the tenth part of St. Clement's Epistle, has been lost. In the year 1875 "an entirely new authority for the text of the Epistle was gained by the discovery in the library of the Holy Sepulchre at Fanari, in Constantinople, of a MS. containing an un mutilated text of the two Epistles ascribed to St. Clement. This discovery was made known, and the new authority first used in establishing the text, in a very careful and able edition of the Epistles by BRYENNIOS, Metropolitan of Serræ, published in Constantinople at the end of 1875. . . . Besides filling up small lacunæ in the text of the older MS., it *supplies the contents of the entire leaf which has been lost,*" and, except for the trifling omission of one or two words, "we have the letter now as complete as it was originally in the Alexandrian MS." (*Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.* vol. i. p. 557). Shortly after this discovery it was announced that the University of Cambridge had procured by purchase a Syriac MS. containing a translation of the two Epistles of Clement. The recovered portion of the text has been incorporated by Bishop HEFELE and Dr. LIGHTFOOT in their last editions of St. Clement's Epistle.

fold of Christ, than to seem to yourselves better than others, and be cast out of His fold. . . . **If any disobey¹ the words spoken by God through Us, let them know that they will entangle themselves in transgression and no small danger, but we shall be clear from this sin. . . . You will cause us joy and exultation if, obeying the things written by us through the Holy Spirit, you cut out the lawless passion of your jealousy, according to the intercession we have made for peace and concord in this letter. But we have sent faithful and discreet men, who have walked from youth to old age unblameably amongst us, who shall be witnesses between us and you. This have we done, that you may know that all our care has been and is that you may speedily be at peace"** (*Epist. i. ad Corinth. n. 1, 47, 57, seq.*)

St. Ignatius writes to "the Presiding" Church of Rome:—"I do not issue commands to you, as did Peter and Paul. . . . **You have taught others.** I would, therefore, that those things may be firmly established **which teaching you have commanded**" (τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἣτις καὶ προκάθηται. . . . ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε. Ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω, ἵνα κακεῖνα βέβαια ἢ ἅ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε. . . . Οὐχ ὡς Πέτρος καὶ Παῦλος διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν.—*Epist. ad Rom. n. 3, 4*).

St. Irenæus:—"Wherefore, in every Church there is, for all who may wish to see what things are true, at hand to look unto, the tradition of the Apostles made manifest throughout the whole world; and we have it in our power to enumerate those who were by the Apostles instituted Bishops in the Churches, and the successors of those Bishops down to ourselves, who neither taught nor knew anything like the wild opinions of these men. For if the Apostles had known any hidden mysteries, which they taught apart and secretly from others to the perfect, they would have delivered them more especially to those to whom also they committed the Churches themselves. For they wished those to be very perfect and blameless in all things whom also they left as successors, delivering unto them their own post of government, who, acting faithfully, great usefulness would be the result, but falling, a great calamity.

"But, as it would be a very long task to enumerate in such a

¹ Referring to this and the following passage, Dr. SALMON, the Regius Professor of Divinity in Trinity College, Dublin, whose translation has been followed, says:—"VERY NOTICEABLE IN THE NEW PART OF THE LETTER IS THE TONE OF AUTHORITY USED BY THE ROMAN CHURCH IN MAKING AN UNSOLICITED" (?) "INTERFERENCE WITH THE AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER CHURCH" (*Dict. of Christ. Biog. and Literat.* vol. i. p. 558).

volume as this the successions of all the Churches, pointing out that tradition which the greatest and most ancient and universally-known Church—founded and constituted at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul—derives from the Apostles, and that faith announced to all men which through the succession of her Bishops has come down to us, we confound all those who in any way, whether through caprice or vainglory, or blindness, or perverse opinion, gather (or assemble) otherwise than it behoveth. For with this Church, on account of her more powerful Headship (or Supremacy), it is necessary that every Church, that is, the faithful everywhere¹ dispersed, should agree (or be in communion);² in which (in communion with which)³ Church has always been preserved that tradition which is from the Apostles” (c. 2).

“The blessed Apostles, therefore, having founded and built up that Church, committed the sacred office of the Episcopate to Linus, of whom Paul makes mention in his Epistle to Timothy. To

¹ See note in p. 71.

² With regard to the words “CONVENIRE AD HANC ECCLESIAM,”—which have been rendered “CONFORM TO,” “AGREE WITH,” “BE IN COMMUNION WITH THIS CHURCH (OF ROME),”—it may be observed that Irenæus uses a similar phrase in Lib. iii. 24 :—“Qui non CONCURRENT AD ECCLESIAM” (Comp. Lib. v. c. 20 :—“*Confugere ad Ecclesiam, et in ejus sinu educari.*”) “*Convenire*” is used by the Vet. Interp. for *συμφωνεῖν* (*Acts* xv. 15) in Lib. iii. c. 12, n. 14; and again in the sense of “TO HARMONISE,” “AGREE WITH,” in Lib. iv. c. 35. That, in the words in question St. Irenæus speaks of the necessity of other Churches CONCURRING IN DOCTRINE AND FAITH WITH THE ROMAN CHURCH, is admitted by the Protestant SALMASIUS :—“Necesse est, dicit, omnem ecclesiam convenire ad Romanam, id est, ut Græce locutus fuerat Irenæus, *συμβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν*, quod significat CONVENIRE ET CONCORDARE IN REBUS FIDEI AC DOCTRINÆ CUM ROMANÆ ECCLESIA . . . Συμβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν ἁὲν æque usitatum Græcis ac *συμβαίνειν τινι*. Unde apud Thucydidem, *συνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίους*, ‘*convenerunt cum Lacedæmoniis, pactum fecerunt.*’ Ita in loco quem supra adduximus, quem malus auctor Latinitatis Græcissans dixit, *ad hanc* . . . pro *cum hac convenire*” (*De Primatu Papæ*, c. 5, p. 65). With Salmasius agree the modern German Protestants THIERSCH and STIEREN. Compare St. Ambrose’s words in p. 100.

³ The words “in quâ (ecclesiâ)” are rendered by MOHLER “*for through it,*” and by DOLLINGER (*Hist. of the Church*, i. p. 256) “*in which communion.*” HERGENRÖTHER remarks that the word “*in*” is to be taken in the ecclesiastical sense of the Greek preposition *ἐν*, and can thus be rendered “*in her bosom,*” “*in her communion,*” or “*through her,*” “*by virtue of her.*” Compare the Biblical and Patristic expressions *ἐν Κυρίῳ*, *ἐν Θεῷ*, *ἐν τούτῳ κρατύνεται*, &c. The translator of Irenæus often uses *in* for *per* :—“*Salutem in eo (Christo) dedit hominibus*” (iii. 12, 4); “*Ut quod perdideramus in Adam, hoc in Christo reciperemus*” (*ib.* 18, n. 1); “*In Christo universa benedictio*” (iv. c. 21, n. 3), &c.

him succeeded Anencletus, and after him, in the third place from the Apostles, to Clement is allotted the Episcopacy." He gives the whole succession down to Eleutherus, who "now, in the twelfth place, holds the inheritance of the Episcopate from the Apostles;" and concludes:—"By this same order, and by this same succession, both that tradition which is in the Church from the Apostles and the preaching of the truth have come down to us. And this is a most full demonstration that it is one and the same life-giving faith which is preserved in the Church from the Apostles and handed down in truth" (Sed quoniam valde longum est in hoc tali volumine omnium ecclesiarum enumerare successiones; maximæ et antiquissimæ et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo Romæ fundatæ et constitutæ ecclesiæ eam, quam habet ab Apostolis, traditionem et annunciatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos, indicantes, confundimus omnes eos, qui quoquomodo, vel per sibi placentiam vel vanam gloriam vel per cœcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet, colligunt. Ad hanc enim ecclesiam propter potentiores principalitatem necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in quâ semper ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio. Θεμελιώσαντες οὖν καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντες οἱ μακάριοι ἀποστολοὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, Δίνω τὴν τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς λειτουργίαν ἐνεχέρισαν. . . . Τῇ αὐτῇ τάξει καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ διαδοχῇ ἣ τε ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ παράδοσις καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας κήρυγμα κατήντηκεν εἰς ἡμᾶς. Et est plenissima hæc ostensio, unam eandemque vivatricem fidem esse, quæ in ecclesiâ ab Apostolis usque nunc sit conservata et tradita in veritate.—*Adv. Hær.* Lib. iii. c. 3; et ap. Euseb. *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 6).

"In order to confound all heretics," says Massuet, "Irenæus deemed it sufficient to appeal to the tradition of the **Roman** Church, preserved therein by the unbroken succession of her Bishops, rightly judging that, by the ascertainment of *her* tradition, would be learned at once what was the tradition and doctrine of all the other Churches. For, since the Roman Church is the Chief, Head, and First of all; the greatest, most ancient, and most renowned; that which was founded by St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and his colleague St. Paul; the Church which by its own right presides and rules over **all** the rest, and with which it is necessary that **all** the faithful should be united by the bonds of one and the same faith and communion;—it is thence clearly evident that the faith or tradi-

tion of the other Churches could not but be in accordance with that of the Roman Church. Passing by, therefore, the Episcopal Successions in all the other Churches throughout the world, it suffices to recount the unbroken succession in that Church alone, and to declare the Apostolic tradition which has flowed down to us through that channel, in order that, by the common judgment and tradition of **all** the Churches—which must necessarily agree with this Church of Rome—all heretics may be utterly vanquished.”

It is quite incredible that St. Irenæus should have attributed the superiority of the Roman Church and her freedom from error to “the circumstance of the pure tradition being guarded and maintained there through the constant concourse of the faithful from all countries” (Janus, p. 87); for in that case Rome must have learnt her doctrine from other Churches, not other Churches from Rome;¹ and again, the heretics, against whom he was arguing, would certainly not have allowed that Rome must have—and still less that she must “**always**” have—the true Apostolic tradition, because of the fortuitous concourse of Christians to the imperial city. “In Rome,” says Milman, “every heresy, almost every heresiarch, found welcome reception. . . . They were all strangers and foreigners; not one of all these systems originated in Rome, in Italy, or in Africa. On all these opinions **the Bishop** of Rome was almost compelled to sit in judgment; he must receive or reject, authorise or condemn;² he was a proselyte whom it would be the ambition of all

¹ “Rome,” says M. ERNEST RENAN, “was the place in which the great idea of Catholicity was worked out. More and more every day it became the capital of Christianity, and took the place of Jerusalem as the religious centre of humanity. Its Church claimed a precedence over all others, which was generally recognised. All the doubtful questions which agitated the Christian conscience came to Rome to ask for arbitration, if not decision. Men argued—certainly not in a very logical way—that as Christ had made Cephas the corner-stone of His Church, the privilege ought to be inherited by his successors. . . . The Bishop of Rome became the Bishop of Bishops, he who admonished all others. Rome proclaims her right—a dangerous right—of excommunicating those who do not walk step by step with her. . . . At the end of the second century we can already recognise, by signs which it is impossible to mistake, the spirit which in 1870 will proclaim the infallibility of the Pope. . . . Irenæus (Lib. iii. 3) refutes all heresies by reference to the belief of this Church, the greatest, the oldest, the most illustrious, which possesses, in virtue of an unbroken succession, the true tradition of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and to which, because of its Primacy, all the rest of the Church ought to have recourse” (*Hibbert Lectures*, 1880, Eng. trans. pp. 172–174).

² **Tertullian**, himself a Montanist, shows very clearly what importance he attached to Pope Victor's recognition of Montanus, when he says of Praxeas, “This man prevailed on the Bishop of Rome, who was on the point of acknowledging (*jam agnoscentem*) the prophecies of Montanus, Prisca, and Maximilla,

to gain" (*Hist. of Latin Christ.* Book i. ch. 1, vol. i. pp. 38, 39). If, then, heretics as well as Catholics thus flocked to Rome, what security could such a concourse afford that the Roman Church would not be infected by their errors? It is, evidently, to the tradition and faith of the **Bishops**¹ of Rome—endowed with special prerogatives, and empowered to require the assent and obedience of

and BY THAT ACKNOWLEDGMENT BRINGING IN PEACE TO THE CHURCHES OF ASIA AND PHRYGIA (et ex ea agnitione pacem ecclesiis Asiæ et Phrygiæ inferentem), . . . to revoke the letters of peace already sent out," &c. (*Adv. Praxeam*, c. 1).

¹ "It was natural," says Dr. Newman, "for Christians to direct their course in matters of doctrine by the guidance of mere floating, and, as it were, endemic tradition, while it was fresh and strong; but in proportion as it languished or was broken in particular places did it become necessary to fall back upon its special homes, first the Apostolic Sees, and then the See of Peter" (*Essay on Develop. of Doct.* p. 167). "In the Catholic Church it was always an article of faith that our Lord, by the assistance and guidance of His Holy Spirit, preserved the whole Church, in her collective capacity, from falling into error in her dogmatic teaching. But it was also a point of belief, which may be traced up to the Apostolic age, that in the administration of this teaching authority the See of St. Peter held a supreme office; that it was the centre of ecclesiastical operations, if we may use such a term; that apart from it there could be no genuine orthodoxy, no true Catholicity; and that in all the great controversies which from time to time divided the Christian world, the most crucial test of truth was the adherence to any dogma by the See of Peter" (*Union Review*, May 1875). **Tertullian** says:—"Now what the Apostles preached, *i.e.*, what Christ revealed unto them, I will here also rule must be proved in no other way than by those same Churches which the Apostles themselves founded, themselves by preaching to them, as well *vivâ voce*, as men say, as by epistles afterwards. If these things be so, it is in like degree manifest that all doctrine which AGREES WITH THE APOSTOLIC CHURCHES, the wombs and originals of the faith, must be accounted true, as without doubt containing that which the Churches have received from the Apostles, the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God; but that every doctrine must be judged at once to be false which savoureth things contrary to the truth of the Churches, and of the Apostles, and of Christ, and of God. . . . WE HAVE COMMUNION WITH THE APOSTOLIC CHURCHES BECAUSE WE HAVE NO DOCTRINE DIFFERING FROM THEM. THIS IS THE EVIDENCE OF TRUTH" (*Communicamus cum Ecclesiis Apostolicis, quod nulla doctrina diversa. Hoc est testimonium veritatis.—De Præscript. Heret.* c. 21). "Come now, thou that wilt exercise thy curiosity to better purpose in the business of thy salvation, run over the Apostolic Churches, in which the very chairs of the Apostles to this very day preside over their own places, in which their own authentic writings are read, echoing the voice and making the face of each present. Is Achaia near to thee? thou hast Corinth. . . . But if thou art near to Italy, thou hast ROME, WHENCE WE ALSO HAVE AN AUTHORITY AT HAND. THAT CHURCH—HOW HAPPY!—ON WHICH THE APOSTLES POURED OUT ALL THEIR DOCTRINE WITH THEIR BLOOD, . . . LET US SEE WHAT SHE HATH LEARNED, WHAT TAUGHT, WHAT TOKENS OF DOCTRINE SHE HATH SENT TO THE CHURCHES OF AFRICA" (*Habes Romam, unde nobis quoque auctoritas præsto est. Ista quam felix Ecclesiæ: Cui totam doc-*

all, that Irenæus appeals as the chief rule and standard of orthodoxy for all Christians; and therefore, after giving a list of her Bishops down to his own time, he concludes:—“*By this same order and by this same succession have the tradition of the Apostles and the preaching of the truth come down to us: and this is a most full demonstration that it is one and the same faith which is preserved in the Church from the Apostles, and handed down in truth.*”

With the above-quoted passages from the 3rd Book of Irenæus' work should be compared another, evidently having reference to them in Lib. iv. c. 43:—“It behoves us to obey those pastors who hold succession from the Apostles, as we have shown, who, **with the Episcopal Succession, have received the sure grace of truth**, according to the good-will of the Father (qui cum episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum . . . acceperunt). But the rest, who depart from the principal succession (qui a principali successione¹ ab-sistunt), in whatever place they may assemble (colligunt²), we ought to hold suspected as heretics, and of evil opinion, or as schismatics,” &c.³

trinam Apostoli cum sanguine suo profuderunt . . . Videamus quid didicerit, quid docuerit, quid cum Africanis Ecclesiis contessesarit.—*Ib.* c. 36). “Let them (the heretics) make known the origins of their Churches, let them unroll the catalogue of their Bishops, so coming down by succession from the beginning, that their first Bishop had for his author (ordainer) and predecessor some one of the Apostles, or of apostolic men, so he were one that continued steadfast with the Apostles. For in this manner do the Apostolic Churches reckon their origin (or *their registeries of succession*); as the Church of the Smyrnæans recounts that Polycarp was placed there by John, as that of the Romans does that Clement was in like manner ordained by Peter; just as the rest also show those whom, being appointed by the Apostles to the Episcopate, they have as transmitters of the Apostolic seed. Let the heretics counterfeit something like this” (*Ib.* c. 32). Like Irenæus and Tertullian, SS. OPTATUS, AUGUSTINE, and EPIPHANIUS, when writing against heretics and schismatics, appeal to the succession of Bishops in the ROMAN See, of whom they give complete catalogues, down to their own contemporaries. St. EPIPHANIUS concludes in words similar to those of Irenæus:—“And let no one wonder that we have thus diligently gone through each of these matters; *for by means of these the manifest truth is for ever pointed out*” (Καὶ μὴ τις θαυμάσῃ ὅτι ἕκαστα οὕτως ἀκριβῶς διήλθομεν διὰ γὰρ τούτων ἀεὶ τὸ σαφὲς δέκνυται.—*Adv. Hær.* n. 27).

¹ Compare the “propter potentio^{rem} *principalitatem*” in Lib. iii. 3.

² Compare the “præter quam oportet *colligit*,” *Ib.*, and St. JEROME's words to Pope Damasus:—“Quicumque *tecum non colligit*, spargit” (*Epist.* xv.)

³ One of the latest Protestant writers on the life and doctrine of Irenæus—ZIEGLER—says:—“To the mind of Irenæus, it is the Episcopate which sanctions the rule of faith, not *vice versâ*. With him, as with Cyprian, the highest ecclesiastical office is inseparable from orthodox doctrine. . . . He makes the preserva-

It may be added, that St. Irenæus himself illustrates his statement, as to the Roman Church's Headship and authority over other Churches, by referring to her exercise of her prerogatives in regard to the far-distant and Apostolic Church of the **Corinthians**, to which, under the circumstances already detailed, "the Church which is at Rome," he says, "wrote a most powerful letter, **gathering them together to peace, and repairing their faith, and announcing the tradition which it had so recently received from the Apostles**" (*Ἐπέστειλεν ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησία ἱκανωτάτην γραφὴν* (potentissimas literas—*Vers. Lat.*) τοῖς Κορινθίοις, εἰς εἰρήνην συμβιβάζουσα αὐτοὺς, καὶ ἀνανεοῦσα τὴν πίστιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἥν νεωστὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων παράδοσιν εἰλήφει καταγγέλλουσα.—*Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. c. 6*).¹

St. Cyprian, in a passage already cited (see p. 60), calls Rome "The Chair of Peter, and the Ruling Church, **whence the Unity of the priesthood has its source, and to which heretical perfidy cannot gain access**" (*Epist. lv. ad Cornel. ed. Baluz.*); and in another Epistle to the same Roman Pontiff he says:—"I exhorted

tion of tradition, and the presence of the Holy Ghost with the Church, dependent upon the Bishops, who in legitimate succession represent the Apostles, and . . . this manifestly because he wants at any price to have a guarantee for the unity of the visible Church. This striving after unity appears in the most striking way in that passage (iii. 3, 2) where he passes, as if in a prophetic spirit, beyond himself, and anticipates the Papal Church of the future" (*Irenaus der Bischof von Lyon, Berlin, 1871*). See *Anglicanism and the Fathers*, p. 7.

"St. Irenæus," says Cardinal HERGENRÖTHER, "does not appeal to the journeys to Rome, but to *the succession of Bishops*. And as it would be too long to number the succession of Bishops in all the Churches, he gives a short and sufficient way of proceeding; for he says that, to put false teachers to shame, it suffices to 'declare the tradition received from the Apostles by the greatest Church, the most ancient, the most conspicuous, and founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, and to declare the faith announced to men by this Church, coming to us even by the succession of Bishops.' His argument is as follows:—If the faith of the Roman Church has remained pure, the faith of other Churches must have remained so. For all Churches universally acknowledge the duty of remaining in harmony with the Church of Rome; and if we know the faith of the Roman Church, we know that of all others. Finally, after enumerating the successors of St. Peter, he says that through this succession the doctrine of the Apostles has reached us, and that we have by it the fullest assurance that the ancient faith will continue unchanged" (*Cath. Church and Christ. State, Eng. trans. vol. i. p. 96*).

¹ With the "*in quâ semper*," &c., of Irenæus compare the very similar expressions used by OPTATUS and in the FORMULA OF POPE HORMISDAS.

The Protestant Church historian MOSHEIM avows that the principles laid down by St. Irenæus and St. Cyprian lead naturally to the admission of a central authority, such as is ascribed to the See of St. Peter, and alleges that they were

all that went from hence (from Africa to Rome) that they should own and hold to **the root and matrix of the Catholic Church**” (Ut ecclesiæ catholicæ radicem et matricem agnoscerent et tenerent); and further assures him that he had procured a general letter from the African Bishops, “that they should all own **him (the Pope) and his communion, that is, the unity and charity of the Catholic Church**” (Ut te universi collegæ nostri et communicationem tuam, id est, catholicæ ecclesiæ unitatem pariter et caritatem, probarent firmiter ac tenerent.—*Epist.* xlv. ed. Baluz.) In an epistle to Antonianus, he tells him that a letter was written to Pope Cornelius, “to let him know that you were in **his communion, that is, in the communion of the Catholic Church**” (Ut sciret te secum, hoc est, cum catholica ecclesia communicare.¹—*Epist.* lii. ed. Baluz.) “He that holds not this unity of the Church, does he suppose, that he holds the faith? He who opposes and resists the Church, and **who deserts the Chair of Peter, upon whom the Church was founded, does he trust that he is in the Church?**” (Qui cathedram Petri . . . deserit, in ecclesiâ se esse confidit?—*De Unitate Eccles.* c. 4. See *note* in p. 31). “There is one God, and one Christ, and there is **one Church, and one Chair founded by the voice of the Lord upon a Rock**. Another altar cannot be constituted or a new priesthood be

too simple-minded and short-sighted to understand the consequences! “Cyprian and the rest cannot have known the corollaries which follow from their precepts about the Church. For no one is so blind as not to see that between a certain unity of the Universal Church, terminating in the Roman Pontiff, and such a community as we have described out of Irenæus and Cyprian, there is scarcely so much room as between hall and chambers, or between hand and fingers” (MOSH. *Dissertat. Theologico-Hist. de Gallorum Appell. ad Concil. Univ. Eccles., &c.,* Sect. xiii.)

¹ Protestant writers endeavour to show that St. CYPRIAN taught a different doctrine during the controversy about the rebaptization of converted heretics, on which occasion he wrote against the custom of the Roman Church and opposed the disciplinary decree of Pope Stephen; but it should be observed that St. Cyprian did not regard the question in dispute as one *de fide*, but as regarding *ecclesiastical discipline and custom only*: hence, in the COUNCIL OF CARTHAGE, held A.D. 256, he said to the assembled Bishops: “It remains that we severally declare our opinion on the same subject, judging no one, nor removing any one from the right of communion if he think differently from us. For neither does any one of *us* constitute himself to be Bishop of Bishops, nor by tyrannical terror force his colleagues to a necessity of obeying” (he here probably alluded to what he considered the uncalled-for and tyrannical interference of Pope Stephen); “whereas, every Bishop, in accordance with the free use of his own liberty and power, has his own judgment, and in the same way as he may not be judged by another, so neither can he judge another. But let us all await the judgment of our Lord Jesus Christ, who alone has the power of setting us in the government

made, beside the one altar and the one priesthood. **Whosoever gathereth elsewhere, scattereth.** Whatsoever by human madness is instituted, so that the divine disposition is violated, is adulterous, is impious, is sacrilegious" (Cathedra una, super petrum Domini voce fundata. . . . Quisquis alibi collegerit, spargit.—*Epist. ad Pleb.* xl. n. 5).

St. Optatus of Milevis:—"That in that one Chair (established by Peter, the Head of all the Apostles in Rome; vide *supra*, p. 63) **unity might be preserved by all, . . . and that he might at once be condemned as a schismatic and sinner who against that pre-eminent Chair should place another.** Therefore, in that one Chair, which is the first of the prerogatives, Peter sat first; to whom succeeded Linus; to Linus Clement." He gives the whole succession down to "Siricius, who is at this day associated with us, **with whom the whole world is in accordance with us in the one bond of communion, by the intercourse of letters of peace**" (Igitur negare non potes scire te in urbe Româ Petro primo Cathedram episcopalem esse collatam, in quâ sederit omnium Apostolorum caput Petrus, unde et Cephass appellatus est: in quâ unâ Cathedrâ unitas ab omnibus servaretur, ne ceteri Apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent; ut jam schismaticus et peccator esset, qui contra singularem Cathedram alteram collocaret. Ergo Cathedram unicam, quæ est prima de dotibus, sedit prior Petrus: cui successit Linus, . . . Damaso Siricius, hodie qui noster est socius: cum quo nobiscum totus orbis commercio formatarum in unâ communionis societate concordat.—*De Schism. Donat.* Lib. ii. c. 2, 3. Ed. Hurter, pp. 76, 77). "Of the aforesaid prerogatives, then, the Chair is, as we said, the first, **which we have proved is ours through Peter**, and this mark carries with it the *Angel* (lawful Bishop or jurisdiction). . . . Understand, then, that you are ungodly children; that you are branches broken off from the Tree; that you are tendrils cut off

of His Church, and of judging of our conduct." It is clear that the liberty which he here claimed was in matters not decided by the supreme authority of the Church, as St. AUGUSTINE remarks (*De Bapt. cont. Donat.* Lib. iii. c. 3); for that he did not deny *the Pope's right to depose Bishops*, upon just occasion, is evident from his words to the same Pope Stephen regarding Marcian, the Bishop of Arles:—"LET LETTERS BE ADDRESSED FROM THEE to the province and people dwelling at Arles, BY WHICH MARCIAN BEING DEPOSED, ANOTHER MAY BE SUBSTITUTED IN HIS PLACE" (Dirigantur . . . a te literæ, quibus abstento Marciano, alius in locum ejus substituatur.—*Epist.* lxxvii. ed. Baluz.) See, on the subject of St. Cyprian's alleged "resistance to Roman claims," Bishop FREPPEL'S *S. Cyprien*, and Professor JUNGSMANN'S *Dissert. Select. in Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. pp. 263-357.

from the Vine ; that you are a stream separated from the Fountain-Head. For a stream which is small, and does not spring from itself, cannot be a fountain source ; nor a lopped branch be a tree, since a tree flourishes resting on its own roots, but a branch that is cut off withers. Seest thou now, brother Parmenianus, . . . that thou hast fought against thyself? Whereas it has been proved that we are in the holy Catholic Church ; . . . and **through the Chair of Peter, which is ours, through it the other prerogatives are ours also**” (Igitur de dotibus supradictis Cathedra est (ut diximus) prima, quam probavimus per Petrum nostram esse, quæ ducit ad se angelum.—*Ib.* c. 6, p. 87. Probatum est nos esse in ecclesiâ santâ Catholicâ, . . . et per Cathedram Petri, quæ nostra est, per ipsam et ceteras dotes apud nos esse.—*Ib.* c. 9, p. 91). See the remarks of the Protestant Church historian Neander in p. 74.

St. Gregory of Nazianzum (*supra*, p. 74).

St. Ambrose—in language similar to that used by SS. Irenæus, Cyprian, and Optatus—declares union in faith with the Roman See to be union with the Catholic Church. Speaking of his brother Satyrus, who had arrived, after shipwreck, in a place of doubtful orthodoxy, he says :—“He called the Bishop to him, and not accounting any grace true which was not of the true faith, he inquired of him whether he agreed with the **Catholic Bishops, that is, with the Roman Church,**” (Percontatusque ex eo est, utrumnam cum episcopis Catholicis, hoc est cum Romanâ Ecclesiâ conveniret.—*De Excessu Fratris*, n. 46, Tom. ii. p. 1126). “**From this Church (of Rome),**” as he elsewhere declares, “**the rights of venerable communion flow unto all**” (inde enim in omnes venerandæ communionis jura dimanant.—*Epist.* xi. n. 4).

St. Jerome, writing to Pope Damasus, A.D. 376 :—“Since the East tears into pieces the Lord's coat, and foxes lay waste the vineyard of Christ, so that among broken cisterns, which hold no water, it is difficult to understand where is the sealed fountain and the enclosed garden : therefore have I thought that I should consult **the Chair of Peter, and the faith praised by the mouth of the Apostle.** . . . Wherefore, though your greatness terrifies me, yet your kindness invites me. . . . Let us speak without offence. I court not the Roman height ; I speak with the successor of the Fisherman, and the disciple of the Cross. **I, following none as the first but Christ,¹ am linked in communion with thy Blessedness,**

¹ “Following no Primate but Christ,”—*i.e.*, acknowledging none of the three Bishops—Vitalis, Meletius, or Paulinus—who claimed his allegiance.

that is, with the Chair of Peter. Upon that Rock I know that the Church is built. Whoso shall eat the Lamb outside this house is profane. If any be not in the Ark of Noah, he will perish when the deluge prevails. . . . I know not Vitalis; Meletius I reject; I am ignorant of Paulinus. Whoso gathereth not with thee, scattereth; that is, he who is not of Christ is of Antichrist" (*Ideo mihi Cathedram Petri, et fidem Apostolico ore laudatam, censui consulendam. . . . Tanquam igitur tui me terreat magnitudo, invitat tamen humanitas. . . . Facessat invidia: Romani culminis recedat ambitio: cum successore piscatoris et discipulo crucis loquor. Ego, nullum primum nisi Christum sequens, Beatitudini tuæ, id est, Cathedræ Petri, communione consocior: Super illam petram ædificatam ecclesiam scio. Quicumque extra hanc domum agnum comederit, profanus est. Si quis in arcâ Noe non fuerit, peribit regnante diluvio. . . . Non novi Vitalem, Meletium respuo, ignoro Paulinum. Quicumque tecum non colligit, spargit: hoc est, qui Christi non est, Antichristi est.—Epist. xv., ad Damas. Tom. i. p. 39*). In a second Epistle to the same Pope he says:—"On one side of me the Arian fury rages, supported by the secular power; on the other side, the Church (of Antioch) is rent into three parts, each eager to drag me to itself. The ancient authority of the monks dwelling round about rises against me. Meanwhile I cease not to cry out: **If any one is joined to the See of Peter, he is mine.** Meletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus say that they adhere to you. If one asserted this I could believe him. As it is, either two of them, or all three, lie. Wherefore, I conjure your Blessedness, by the Lord's cross, by the essential glory of our faith, by the passion of Christ, that you who are the successor of the Apostles in dignity, would be their successor in merit; . . . **that you would signify to me by your letters with which Bishop in Syria it is my duty to communicate.** Despise not a soul for which Christ died" (*Ego interim clamito: Si quis Cathedræ Petri jungitur, meus est.—Epist. xvi. p. 43*).

Writing A.D. 402, he says:—"What does he (Rufinus) call his faith? That which is the strength of the **Roman Church**, or that which is in the volumes of Origen? **If he answer 'The Roman,' then are we Catholics, who have borrowed nothing from Origen's error**" (*Fidem suam quam vocat? Eamne, quâ Romana pollet ecclesia? . . . Si Romanam responderit, ergo Catholici sumus.—Adv. Rufin. Lib. i. c. 4, Tom. ii. p. 461*). "Be it known to you, that we hold nothing more sacred than to maintain the rights of

Christ, and not to move the boundaries which the fathers have placed, but always to bear in mind that the **Roman** faith was praised by the mouth of the Apostle, of **which faith the Church of Alexandria glories that she partakes**" (Romanam fidem Apostolico ore laudatam, cujus se esse participem Alexandrina gloriatur ecclesia.—*Epist. lxiii. ad Theoph. n. 2*). "I will hold that faith (the **Roman**) as an old man, in which as a boy I was born again" (*Epist. lxxxiv. ad Pammach. et Ocean. n. 8*). To Demetriade, A.D. 414:—"When you were a little child, and Bishop Anastasius of blessed memory ruled the Roman Church, a fierce tempest from parts of the East tried to defile the simplicity of that faith which was praised by the voice of the Apostle. But that man of the wealthiest poverty and of apostolic solicitude at once struck down the noxious head and silenced the sibilant mouth of that hydra. And because I have learnt that, in certain places, the venomous plants still live and put forth shoots, I think that I ought to give you this warning,—**that you hold fast the faith of holy Innocent**, who is both the successor and the (spiritual) son of the aforesaid man and of the Apostolic Chair; **nor, however prudent and wise you may seem to yourself, receive any strange doctrine**" (Illud te pio caritatis affectu præmendum puto, ut S. Innocentii, qui Apostolicæ Cathedræ successor est, teneas fidem; nec peregrinam, quatenus tibi prudens callidaque videaris, doctrinam recipias.—*Epist. cxxx. n. 16*).

St. Augustine (against the Donatists):—"You know what the **Catholic Church** is, and what it is to be cut off from the **Vine**. If there be any among you prudent, let them come, let them live on **the root**. . . . Come, my brethren, if you desire to be engrafted on **the Vine**. It is grievous to see you thus lying lopped off from the tree. **Number the Bishops from the very See of Peter**,¹ and **observe the succession of every father in that order: it is the Rock against which the proud gates of hell prevail not**" (Venite, fratres, si vultis ut inseramini in vite. Dolor est, cum vos videmus ita jacere. Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede, et in illo ordine patrum quis cui successit videte. Ipsa est petra, quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ.—*Psal. cont. part. Donati. Tom. ix. p. 30*). "Many things most justly hold me in the bosom of the Catholic Church. I am held by the consent of peoples and of nations; by that authority which began in miracles, was nourished in hope, was increased by charity, and made steadfast by age; by

¹ The **General Council of Chalcedon** calls Pope Leo "*the very one intrusted with the guardianship of the Vine by the Saviour*" (*Epist. Synod. Leonî*).

that succession of priests, down to the present Episcopate, from the Chair itself of the Apostle Peter, to whom the Lord, after His resurrection, intrusted His sheep to be fed ; finally the name itself of **Catholic** holds me, which, not without cause, amid so many heresies, this Church has alone retained in such sort, that whereas all heretics wish themselves to be called Catholics, nevertheless, to any stranger who asked, ‘Where is the meeting of the Catholic Church held?’ no heretic would dare to point out his own Basilica or house” (*Cont. Epist. Fundam. Manich.* n. 5, Tom. viii.)

Writing, with other African Bishops, to Pope Innocent I., to solicit his confirmation of two Councils (of Carthage and Milevis), in which the Pelagian heresy had been condemned, he says:—“We do not pour back our *streamlet* for the purpose of increasing your great fountain ; but . . . we wish it to be decided by you whether our stream, however small, flows forth from that same head of rivers whence comes your own abundance ; and by your answers to be consoled respecting our common participation of grace” (*Non enim rivulum nostrum tuo largo fonti augendo refundimus ; sed . . . utrum etiam noster licet exiguus ex eodem, quo etiam tuus abundans, emanet capite fluentorum, hoc a te probari volumus, tuisque rescriptis de communi participationis unius gratiæ consolari.* —*Epist.* clxxvii. n. 19).

Pope Innocent, in his reply, A.D. 416, praises the **Council of Carthage**, that, “keeping to the precedents of ancient tradition, and mindful of the discipline of the Church, you have, in your examination of the things of God, . . . established in an undeniable manner the firmness of your religion, no less now in consulting (us), than when you previously passed sentence ; approving, as you have done, of a reference to our judgment, **knowing what is due to the Apostolic See** (*scientes quid apostolicæ sedi debeatur*), since all We who are set in this place desire to follow that apostle from whom the very Episcopate and all the authority of this title sprung (*a quo ipse Episcopatus et tota auctoritas nominis hujus emersit*) ; following whom, we both know how to condemn what is evil and to approve of what is commendable. And this, too, that, guarding by your priestly office the institution of the Fathers, ye resolve that these regulations should not be trodden under foot, which they, in pursuance of no human but a divine sentence, have decreed, viz., that whatever was being carried on, although in the most distant and remote provinces, should not be accounted as terminated until it had come to the knowledge of this See ; by the full authority of

which the just sentence should be confirmed ; and that thence all other Churches might derive (that they may proceed, like as all waters, from their own parent spring, and may flow throughout the divers regions of the whole world) what to order, whom to cleanse," &c. (Quod illi non humanâ sed divinâ decrevere sententiâ, ut quidquid quamvis de disjunctis remotisque provinciis ageretur, non prius ducerent finiendum, nisi ad hujus sedis notitiam perveniret : ut totâ hujus auctoritate justa quæ fuerit pronuntiatio firmaretur ; indeque sumerent ceteræ ecclesiæ . . . quid præcipere, quos abluere, &c.—*Epist.* xxix. n. 1, *ad Episc. Concil. Carth.* Galland. Tom. viii. p. 599).

To the **Council of Milevis** he says :—"Diligently, therefore, and congruously, do you consult the secret treasures (arcana) of the Apostolic dignity (that dignity, I mean, on which, beside those things that are without, the care of all the Churches falls) as to what judgment is to be passed on doubtful matters ; following therein the form of the ancient rule, which, you know as well as I, has been preserved always in the whole world (quam toto semper ab orbe mecum nostis esse servatam). . . . You know that, throughout all the provinces, answers to questions always emanate from the Apostolic spring. Especially as often as matters of faith are under discussion, I am of opinion that all our brethren and fellow-bishops ought only to refer to Peter, that is, to the author of their name and honour, even as your affection has now referred, for what may benefit all Churches in common throughout the whole world. For the authors of these evils¹ must needs be more cautious, on seeing themselves, upon the report of two Synods, separated from the communion of the Church by the decree of our sentence. . . . Wherefore we do, by the authority of the Apostolic power, declare

¹ Both Cœlestius and Pelagius professed submission to the Apostolic See, and adherence to its decisions. Of **Cœlestius** St. Augustine said : "Beati Papæ Innocentii litteris non est ausus resistere : IMO SE OMNIA, QUÆ SEDES ILLA DAMNARET, DAMNATURUM PROMISIT" (*De Peccat. Orig.* Lib. ii. c. 7). **Pelagius** also, in his profession of faith to Pope Zosimus, says : "This is the faith, most blessed Pope, which we have learned in the Catholic Church, and which we have always held, and still hold. If anything be set down therein, whether wanting in knowledge or caution, WE DESIRE TO BE CORRECTED BY YOU, WHO HOLD BOTH PETER'S FAITH AND SEE. But if this confession is approved by the judgment of your Apostleship, then whosoever tries to cast a blot on me will prove himself to be ignorant, or malicious, or even not a Catholic, and not that I am a heretic" (In quâ, si minus perite, aut parum cante aliquid forte positum est, emendari cupimus a te, qui Petri fidem et sedem tenes.—*In Append. Op. S. August.* Tom. x. Pars. ii.)

Cœlestius and Pelagius . . . deprived of the communion of the Church” (Scientes quod per omnes provincias de Apostolico fonte petentibus responsa semper emanent. Præsertim quoties fidei ratio ventilatur, arbitror omnes fratres et coepiscopos nostros nonnisi ad Petrum, id est, sui nominis et honoris auctorem referre debere, velut nunc retulit vestra dilectio, quod per totum mundum possit ecclesiis omnibus in commune prodesse. Fiant enim necesse est cautiores, cum inventores malorum, ad duplicis relationem Synodi, sententiæ nostræ statutis viderint ab ecclesiasticâ communione sejunctos.¹—*Epist.* xxx. n. 2, *ad Concil. Milevit.* Ib. p. 602).

It was in reference to these declarations of Pope Innocent that **St. Augustine** remarked:—“**He answered to all as was right, and as it became the Prelate of the Apostolic See**” (Ad omnia ille rescripsit eodem modo quo fas erat, atque oportebat Apostolicæ Sedis antistitem.—*Epist.* clxxxvi. n. 2); and again:—“Already the decisions of two Councils have been sent to the Apostolic See, whence also replies have been received. **The cause is ended**; would that the error may presently terminate likewise” (Inde rescripta venerunt: Causa finita est.—*Serm.* cxxxi. n. 10). See Neander’s *Hist. of the Church*, Bohn’s ed. vol. iii. pp. 241, 242.

Prudentius, in his account of the martyrdom of St. Hippolytus, represents him as saying:—“Flee, O unhappy ones, the execrable schism of Novatus: return to the Catholic peoples. Let one faith flourish,—that which is laid up in the ancient shrine, **that which the Chair of Peter holds**” (Fugite, o miseri, execranda Novati schismata: Catholicis reddite vos populis. Una fides vigeat, prisco quæ condita templo est, . . . quam tenet Cathedra Petri.—*Hymn. in S. Hippolyt.*)

St. Cœlestine, Pope, writing to St. Cyril, Patriarch of Alexandria, regarding Nestorius, the heretical Patriarch of Constantinople:—“Let those, therefore, remain in our communion whom this man has excluded from communion for having opposed him; and let him know that he will not himself be able to retain our communion, if, opposing the apostolic teaching, he continue in his path of error. **Wherefore, arming yourself with the authority of this our See, and using our succession** (*i.e.*, acting in our stead), you

¹ “After having bestowed praise on the North African Bishops, because, as in duty bound, they had betaken themselves to the Chair of Peter, to which all the great concerns of Christendom should be ultimately referred, he assured them of his full acquiescence in their condemnation of the Pelagian doctrines” (NEANDER’S *Church Hist.* vol. iv. p. 320).

shall with resolute severity put in execution this sentence—that, either within ten days he shall anathematise, by a confession under his own hand, this wicked assertion of his, and shall give assurance that he will hold, concerning the generation of Christ our God, the same faith as the Church of the Romans, and of your Holiness, and the religion of the world holds; or if he will not do this, your Holiness, having at once provided for that Church, let him know that he is in every way removed from our body” (*Συναφθείσης σοὶ τοίνυν τῆς ἀνθεντίας τοῦ ἡμετέρου θρόνου τῇ ἡμετέρα διαδοχῇ χρησάμενος ταύτην ἐκβιβάσεις ἀκριβεῖ στερρότητι τὴν ἀπόφασιν, κ.τ.λ.*¹—*Epist.* xi. n. 3, 4. Galland. Tom. ix.) “The inviolable decisions of the Apostolic See” (*Epist.* xxi. n. 12, *ad Episc. Gall.*)

St. Peter Chrysologus :—“Blessed Peter, who lives and presides in his own See, gives the true faith to those who seek it. For we, in our solicitude for truth and faith, cannot without the consent of the Roman Church hear causes of faith” (*Epist. ad Eutech.* Op. ed. Bacchin. 1758, p. 16).

St. Leo the Great, Pope :—“We rejoice in the Lord . . . that what things He had first defined by our ministry, He has confirmed by the irrevocable assent of the whole brotherhood, that He might show that to have truly emanated from Himself which, having been first established by the first of all the Sees, has received the sanction of the whole Christian world, that herein also the members may be in accordance with the Head . . . with that See which the Lord appointed to preside over the rest” (*Quod prius a primá omnium Sede formatum, totius Christiani orbis iudicium recipisset : ut in hoc quoque capiti membra concordent.*—*Epist.* cxx. *ad Theodoret*).

Theodoret (see p. 80).

Formula of Pope Hormisdas, which was subscribed, A.D. 519, by the Eastern Emperor, Patriarchs, and Bishops, and confirmed, A.D. 869, by the Fathers of the Eighth General Council :—“In the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has always been kept undefiled and her holy doctrine proclaimed. Desiring, therefore, not to be in the least degree separated from that hope and faith . . . following in all things the Apostolic See, and professing all its

¹ In the First Act of the General Council of Ephesus, sentence was passed on Nestorius by the Bishops,—“*being necessarily constrained,*” as they declare themselves, “*both by the Canons and by the letter of our most holy Father and fellow-minister, Celestine, the Bishop of the Church of the Romans*” (*Act.* i. Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 1422).

decrees, we hope that we may deserve to be in the one communion with you which the Apostolic See enjoins, in which is the entire and true solidity of the Christian religion: promising, also, that the names of those who are cut off from the communion of the Catholic Church, that is, not consentient with the Apostolic See, shall not be recited during the sacred mysteries." (In Sede Apostolica immaculata est semper servata religio. . . . Sequentes in omnibus Apostolicam Sedem et prædicantes ejus omnia constituta, spero, ut in una communione vobiscum, quam Sedes Apostolica prædicat, esse merear, in quâ est integra et verax Christianæ religionis soliditas. Promittens etiam sequestratos a communione Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, id est non consentientes Sedi Apostolicæ, eorum nomina inter sacra non esse recitanda mysteria.—*Form. Hormisd. Pont. Episcopis Orient., qui schismatis Acaniani participes fuerunt, præscript.* Denzinger's *Enchirid. Symb. et Definit.* n. xx.)

Three Councils of Africa, in their Synodical Letter sent to Pope Theodore, and read in the Council of Rome under Martin I., A.D. 646:—"No one can doubt that **there is in the Apostolic See a great unfailing fountain, pouring forth waters for all Christians, whence rich streams proceed, bountifully irrigating the whole Christian world**; to which See also, in honour of blessed Peter, the decrees of the Fathers gave special veneration in searching out the things of God, which ought by all means to be carefully examined, and above all, and justly, by the **Apostolic Head of Bishops** (*præsum vertice apostolico*), whose care from of old it is as well to condemn evils as to commend the things that are to be praised. For by the ancient discipline it is ordained that whatsoever be done, even in the provinces remote and afar off, shall neither be treated of nor accepted unless it be first brought to the knowledge of your august See, so that a just sentence may be confirmed by its authority, and that the other Churches may thence receive the original preaching as from its native source, and that the mysteries of saving faith may remain in uncorrupt purity throughout the various regions of the world" (*Magnum et indeficientem omnibus Christianis fluenta redundantem apud Apostolicam Sedem consistere fontem nullus ambigere potest, de quo rivuli prodeunt affluenter, universam largissime irrigantes orbem terrarum. . . . Antiquis enim regulis sancitum est, ut quidquid quamvis in remotis, vel in longinquo positis ageretur provinciis, non prius tractandum vel accipiendum sit, nisi ad notitiam almæ Sedis vestræ fuisset deductum, ut hujus auctoritate justa quæ fuisset pronuntiatio firmaretur, indeque sumerent ceteræ ecclesiæ velut de natali suo fonte*

prædicationis exordium, et per diversas totius mundi regiones puritatis incorruptæ maneant fidei sacramenta salutis. — Labbe, Tom. viii. ed. Venet. 1729, p. 131).

Stephen of Dora, A.D. 649 :—" **The all-ruling and presiding See** (of the great Head of the Apostles), the one which is pre-eminent and Head amongst you for the healing of all our wounds, . . . the **Apostolic Throne**, where are the foundations of orthodox instruction" (εὐσεβῶν δογμάτων αἱ κρηπίδες.—*In Concil. Lat. sub Martino I.* ap. Hardouin, Concil. Tom. iii. p. 712, seq.)

Sergius, Metropolitan of Cyprus (see p. 68 note).

St. Maximus, Abbot of Constantinople, A.D. 650, says regarding Pyrrhus, the Monothelite Patriarch of Constantinople :—" If he would neither be a heretic nor be reputed one, . . . let him hasten before all to satisfy the Roman See. If this Church be satisfied, all men will everywhere and with one accord hold him religious and orthodox. For he will speak but in vain if he does not have recourse to the most blessed Pope of the most holy Church of the Romans, to that Apostolic See which received from the Incarnate Word itself, as well as from all Councils, according to the holy canons and rules, universal and supreme dominion, authority, and the power of binding and of loosing over all the holy Churches of God upon the earth. That word, which rules all the heavenly powers, binds and looses with this See in heaven also" (*Epist. ad Petrum Illust., ex Collectan. Anastas. Bibl.* Combefis, Tom. ii. p. 76; Migne, Tom. xci. p. 144; Mansi, *Concil.* Tom. x. p. 692). "For the extremities of the world, and all in every part who purely and rightly confess the Lord, look directly towards the most holy **Roman Church** and to its confession and faith, as it were to the sun of eternal light, receiving from it the bright radiance of the sacred dogmas of our fathers, according to what the six inspired and canonical sacred Synods have purely and piously decreed, interpreting the symbol of faith. For, from the coming down of the incarnate God amongst us, all the Churches in every part of the world have held and considered that greatest Church alone as the base and foundation, seeing that, according to the promise of our Saviour, the gates of hell shall never prevail against it, that it possesses the Keys which conduct to a right confession and faith in Him, that it opens the way to the only true religion to such as religiously approach, and closes and places a seal upon every heretical mouth that speaks injustice against the Most High" (*Ex Epist. Romæ Script.* Op. Tom. ii. p. 72, ed. Combefis, Paris, 1675).

St. Theodore, Abbot of the Studium at Constantinople, A.D. 809, calls Rome **“the See of the Coryphæus, the See in which Christ has deposited the Keys of faith,”** and **“from which we are to receive the certainty of faith”** (Τοῦ κορυφαῖκου θρόνου, ἐν ᾧ ὁ Χριστὸς ἔθετο τὰς κλεῖς τῆς πίστεως.—*Epist.* lxiii. *ad Naucr.* Migne, vol. xcix. p. 1281; *Κἀκεῖθεν τὸ ἀσφαλὲς δεχέσθω τῆς πίστεως.*—*Epist.* cxxix. *ad Leon.* Ib. p. 1420). In other Epistles he terms the Roman Church **the Head of all the Churches, through which we unite ourselves with the three Patriarchs; Supreme over all the Churches of God; the Supreme Chair; the Foundation of the Universal Church on earth, &c.** (*Lib.* ii. *Epist.* lxxiv. *ad Michael. Imp.* p. 1309; *Lib.* i. *Epist.* xxxv. *ad Basil. Archim.* p. 1029; *Lib.* ii. *Epist.* lxii. *ad Fratres*, p. 1280; *Epist.* lxvi. p. 1289; *Epist.* lxxvi. p. 1332, &c.)

Alcuin, A.D. 780:—“Let no Catholic dare to contend against the authority of the Church; and that he may not be found to be a schismatic or non-Catholic, let him follow the most trustworthy authority of the Roman Church; . . . that the members be not separated from their Head; that the bearer of the Keys of the heavenly kingdom may not reject them as having deviated from his doctrines” (Nemo Catholicus contra ecclesiæ auctoritatem, . . . nemo fidelis contra pietatis intelligentiam certare audeat. Et ne quis schismaticus inveniatur, et non Catholicus, sequatur probatissimam sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ auctoritatem: ut unde Catholicæ fidei initia accepimus, inde exemplaria salutis nostræ semper habeamus. Ne membra a capite separentur suo; ne claviger regni cœlestis abjiciat quos a suis deviasse intelligit doctrinis. — *Epist.* lxx. Op., col. 1593, ed. Lutet. Paris., 1617).

St. Bernard, A.D. 1150:—“It behoves us to make known to your Apostleship (Pope Innocent II.) all the dangers and scandals that spring up in the kingdom of God, especially such as concern the faith; for I think it right that **the wounds of the faith should there in the first place be healed where faith can know no defect. For this is the prerogative of that See**” (Dignum namque arbitror, ibi potissimum resarciri damna fidei, ubi non potest fides sentire defectum. Hæc quippe hujus prerogativa sedis.—*Epist.* cxc. *ad Innocent. II., in causa Abelardi*).

PART III.

PAPAL TITLES AND PREROGATIVES.

THE following is a list of the principal Titles and Prerogatives ascribed to the Roman Pontiffs in the early ages of the Church :—

*Successor of the Fisherman*¹—*Heir of Peter's Administration*²—*Vicar of Peter*—*Holding the Succession of Peter*—*Peter's Successor in order, and Holder of his Place*³—*Constituted unto all men Interpreter*

¹ **St. Jerome**, A.D. 390 :—"I speak with the **Successor of the Fisherman**" (Cum successore piscatoris loquor.—*Epist. xv. ad Pap. Damas.*)

² **St. Siricius**, A.D. 386 (*Epist. i. Himer. Tarrac. Episc.*) *Vide supra*, p. 48.

³ **Bishops of Spain**, A.D. 440 :—"The most blessed **Peter**, the Supremacy of whose **Vicar**, as it is eminent, so is it to be feared and loved by all" (Cujus vicarii primatus, sic ut eminet, ita metuendus est ab omnibus et amandus.—*Epist. Ep. Tarracon. Hilario. Labbe*, Tom. iv. p. 1033). **St. Cyprian**, A.D. 250, speaks of "the place of (Pope) **Fabian**, that is, the **place of Peter**" (Fabiani locus, id est, locus Petri.—*Epist. lii. ad Cornel.*) **Firmilian**, A.D. 257, says of Pope **Stephen** : "Se **successionem Petri tenere contendit**, . . . per **successionem Cathedram Petri habere se prædicat**" (*Epist. ad Cyp. inter Cyp. Ep. lxxv.*)¹ In the **General Council**

¹ Dean **MILMAN** acknowledges that "before the end of the third century, the lineal descent of her (Rome's) Bishops from St. Peter was *unhesitatingly claimed and obsequiously admitted by the Christian world*" (*Hist. of Early Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 370, ed. 1840).

Protestant writers constantly refer to the *silence* of **Pope Clement I.** on this point when he is writing to the Corinthians, A.D. 98 ; but they overlook the very obvious fact, that during the *age of persecutions* the Popes must naturally have shrunk from loudly asserting their prerogatives, or putting themselves forward more prominently than they could help. Why should they have exposed themselves unnecessarily to the danger of immediate martyrdom, by proclaiming facts, sufficiently well known to all the faithful, in documents open to the inspec-

*of the Voice of Blessed Peter*⁴—*The Bishop of the Apostolic Chair*—*The Prelate of the Apostolic See*⁵—*The very One Commissioned with*

of Ephesus, A.D. 431, Pope Cœlestine is called “**Peter’s successor in order, and holder of his place**” (Τούτου [τοῦ Πέτρου] κατὰ τάξιν ὁ διάδοχος καὶ τοποτηρητής, ὁ ἅγιος πάπας ἡμῶν Κελεστίνος, ὁ ἐπίσκοπος.—*Act.* iii. Labbe, Tom. iii. p. 625, Paris, 1671; Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 1477). Pope Zosimus, A.D. 417:—“**Whose (Peter’s) place we rule over, and are in possession of the authority of his name**” (Cujus locum nos regere, ipsius quoque potestatem nominis obtinere, non latet vos.—*Epist.* xi. *ad Afros.* Galland. Tom. ix.) See Part ii. Sect. i. of this work.

⁴ **General Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451:—“Appointed unto all men Interpreter of the voice of the blessed Peter”** (Πᾶσι τῆς τοῦ μακαρίου Πέτρου φωνῆς ἐρμηνεὺς καθιστάμενος.—*Epist. Synod. Leon.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 834; Hardouin, Tom. ii. p. 656). “**Peter hath spoken by the mouth of Leo**” (Πέτρος διὰ Λέοντος ταῦτα ἐξεφώνησεν.—*Act.* ii. Labbe, p. 368; Hardouin, p. 305). **General Council of Ephesus:—“Who (Peter) always lives and exercises judgment in his successors”**¹ (“Ὅστις ἕως τοῦ νῦν, καὶ ἀεὶ, ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ διαδόχοις καὶ ζῇ, καὶ δικάζει.—*Act.* iii. Labbe, Tom. iii. p. 625; Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 1477).

⁵ **General Council of Ephesus:—“Pope Cœlestine, Bishop**

tion of all, and which would certainly be used as evidence against them by the heathen authorities? This consideration fully accounts for St. CLEMENT writing in the name of *the Church* of Rome, and keeping silence regarding his own prerogatives as its Bishop; for St. IGNATIUS—himself on his way to martyrdom in Rome—observing a like reticence in regard to the chief Pastor, when he writes to “*the Church* which there presides in the Covenant of Love;” and for St. IRENÆUS speaking, in terms which would not be too intelligible to the enemies of Christianity, of the “*potentiorē principalitatem*” which necessitated the communion of all other Churches with the Apostolic See.

TERTULLIAN, after his lapse into heresy, seems to break through this policy of reserve when (*De Pudicitia*, c. 1) he declaims against “the peremptory edict put forth by the Chief Pontiff, the Bishop of Bishops” (the title of “PONTIFEX MAXIMUS,” applied to a Christian Bishop, being especially calculated to give offence to the civil power); yet even he abstains from mentioning the Pope by name, or too directly, and so exciting the heathen authorities against him. He lets us know, however, that the Pope referred to (Zephyrinus) *did* claim and exercise supreme authority as *St. Peter’s successor*, and that this authority was acknowledged by the Catholic Church—just as much as was the power of absolution or the authority of Bishops, which to the Montanists were equally objectionable (*Ib.* c. 21).

¹ The Council of Arles, A.D. 314, calls Rome “THE PLACE IN WHICH THE APOSTLES (PETER AND PAUL) CONTINUALLY SIT IN JUDGMENT” (In

*the Guardianship of the Vine by the Saviour*⁶—*The Head*—*Head of all the Priests of God*—*Head of all the holy Churches*—*In relation to whom the Fathers of the Councils of Constantinople and Ephesus call themselves "the Members," and the Fathers of Chalcedon "the Children"*⁷—*Archbishop of all the habitable World*⁸—*The most holy and*

of the Apostolic Chair" (Ὁ ἀγιώτατος . . . πάπας ἡμῶν Κελεσ-
τῖνος, ὁ τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας ἐπίσκοπος.—*Act. ii.* Labbe,
p. 612; Hard. p. 1465). **St. Augustine**:—"Pope Zosimus, the
Bishop of the Apostolic See" (*Epist. cxc. n. 1*). **St. Vincent of**
Lerins, A.D. 434:—"Pope Stephen, of blessed memory, the **Prelate**
of the Apostolic See, (who) excelled all others by the authority of
his place" (Apostolicæ cathedræ antistes, . . . reliquos omnes
. . . loci auctoritate superabat.—*Commonit. adv. Hær. c. 6*).

⁶ **General Council of Chalcedon**, regarding Dioscorus, to
Pope Leo I.:—"He even extended his madness against **the very**
One intrusted with the Guardianship of the Vine by the Saviour,
that is to say, against your Apostolic Holiness"¹ (Ἔτι καὶ κατ'
αὐτοῦ τοῦ τῆς ἀμπέλου τὴν φυλακὴν παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἐπιτετ-
ραμμένου τὴν μανίαν ἐξέτεινε· λέγομεν δὴ, τῆς σῆς ὁσιότητος.
—*Epist. Synod. Leoni.* Labbe, p. 835; Hardouin, p. 656).

⁷ **Council of Constantinople**, A.D. 382. In their Synodical
Epistle to Pope Damasus and the Bishops assembled at Rome the
Eastern Fathers say:—"You have summoned us as **your own mem-**
bers (ὡς οἰκεῖα μέλη) by the letters of the most religious Emperor"
(*Ap. Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. Lib. v. c. 9*); and **Pope Damasus**,
writing to an earlier Synod of Eastern Bishops, says:—"Most
honoured **sons** (υἱοὶ τιμιώτατοι), in that your charity accords to the
Apostolic See the reverence due, you confer the greatest honour on
yourselves" (ὅτι τῇ ἀποστολικῇ καθέδρᾳ τὴν ὀφειλομένην αἰδῶ
ἡ ἀγάπη ὑμῶν ἀπονέμει, κ.τ.λ.—*Ib. c. 10*). In the **General**
Council of Ephesus, "Philip, Priest and Legate of the Apos-

quibus [partibus] et apostoli quotidie sedent.—*Epist. Synod. ad Sylvest.*) The
Bishops of Rome are called by **St. Anatolius**, A.D. 276, "THE SUCCESSORS
OF PETER AND PAUL" (*Canon. Paschal. n. 10*). "The Roman Church," says
DOLLINGER, "was viewed as inheriting alike from St. Paul his prerogative of
Apostle of the Gentiles, and from St. Peter his dignity as the foundation of the
Church, and as possessing the power of the Keys" (*First Age of the Church*,
Eng. trans. p. 300).

¹ **St. Leo I.** himself says:—"With an audacity new and hitherto unheard of
and incredible, he attempted to do an injury TO HIS HEAD" (*Epist. ad Theo-*
doret. Episc. Cyr.)

*most blessed Œcumenical Archbishop and Patriarch*⁹—*The Bishop of*

tolie Chair, said: ‘We offer thanks to the holy and venerable Synod, that, the letters of the holy and blessed Pope (Cœlestine) having been read to you, **you have united your holy members**, by your holy acclamations, **to that holy Head**. For your Blessedness is not ignorant that the blessed Peter is the **Head of all the faith, yea, and of the Apostles**’” (τὰ ἅγια μέλη, ταῖς ἁγίαις ὑμῶν φωναῖς, τῇ ἁγίᾳ κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς ἁγίαις ὑμῶν ἐκβοήσεσιν εἰσενενόχατε· οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ ὑμῶν ἡ μακαριότης, ὅτι ἡ κεφαλὴ ὅλης τῆς πίστεως, ἡ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος.—*Act. ii.* Labbe, p. 620; Hardouin, p. 1471). **General Council of Chalcedon**:—“Over whom (the Fathers of the Council) thou (**Leo**) didst rule, as **Head over the members**, in those who filled thy place” (ὧν σὺ μέν, ὡς κεφαλὴ μελῶν, ἡγεμόνευες ἐν τοῖς τὴν σὴν τάξιν ἐπέχουσι.—*Epist. Synod. ad Leonem.* Labbe, p. 834; Hard. p. 656). “We therefore call upon you to honour with your sanction our judgment; and as we have contributed our harmonious agreement with **the Head** in all good things, so let **the Head** fill up what is fitting for **the children**” (Παρακαλοῦμεν τοίνυν, τίμησον καὶ ταῖς σαῖς ψήφοις τὴν κρίσιν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τῇ κεφαλῇ τὴν ἐν τοῖς καλοῖς συμφωνίαν εἰσενηνόχαμεν, οὕτω καὶ ἡ κορυφὴ τοῖς παισὶν ἀναπληρώσοι τὸ πρέπον.—*Ib.* Labbe, 838; Hard. 660). “The most blessed and apostolic Bishop of the city of Rome, **the Head of all the Churches**” (τοῦ μακαριωτάτου καὶ ἀποστολικοῦ ἐπισκοποῦ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως, κεφαλῆς ὑπάρχοντος πασῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν.—*Act. i.* Labbe, 94; Hard. 67). The **Emperor Justinian**, A.D. 533:—“Nor do we allow that any of these things concerning ecclesiastical institution should fail to be brought before his Holiness, as being **the Head of all the holy priests of God**, and because, as often as heretics have arisen in these parts, they have been repressed by the sentence and judgment of that holy See” (Caput omnium sanctissimorum Dei sacerdotum.—*Epist. ad Epiphani. Cod. Justinian, Lib. i. tit. 1, L. vii.*) “**The Head of all the Holy Churches**” (Vestræ Sanctitati, quæ Caput est omnium sanctarum Ecclesiarum.—*Ib. Epist. ad Joann. II. Pap.*) **St. Theodore the Studite**, A.D. 809, calls the Pope “**the most divine Head of all heads**” (ὁ θειοτάτη τῶν ὅλων κεφαλῶν κεφαλὴ.—*Epist. Lib. ii. Ep. 33, ad Leon. III.* Op. ed. Migne, 1017).

⁹ **St. Cyril of Alexandria**, A.D. 424, calls Pope Cœlestine

*the whole Church*¹⁰—*The Bishop of the Catholic Church*¹¹—*The Chief of the Universal Church*¹²—*The Head of the Christian Priest-*

“**Archbishop of the whole habitable world**” (*Ἀρχιεπίσκοπον πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης*.—*Hom. xi. in S. Mariam Deip.* Op. Tom. v. Pars. ii. p. 384, ed. Aubert.)

⁹ **General Council of Chalcedon** : — “Leo, **Œcumenical Archbishop and Patriarch**” (*Οἰκουμενικῶ ἀρχιεπισκόπῳ καὶ πατριάρχῃ τῆς μεγάλης Ῥώμης Λέοντι*.—*Act. iii. Libell. Theod. diac. Alexand. cont. Dioscor. exhibit.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 394). So also in the *Libellus* of Ischyron (*Ib.* p. 399), of Athanasius, priest of Alexandria (*Ib.* p. 406), and of Sophronius (*Ib.* p. 411). Hardouin, Tom. ii. pp. 321, 325, 332, 336.

It is well known that this title of “Universal Patriarch” was, at a later period, *rejected* by **Pope Gregory the Great**, *in the sense in which he understood it to have been usurped* by John, Patriarch of Constantinople :—“It is a lamentable thing to be forced to suffer patiently that, despising all others, my brother and fellow-bishop John endeavours to be called the **only Bishop**” (Quatenus despectis omnibus, . . . solus conetur appellari episcopus.—*Lib. v. Epist. xxi. ad Constant. August.*) He himself declined the title, preferring to call himself “**Servant of the servants of God**” (Servus servorum Dei); yet he none the less strenuously maintained the supremacy of his See over the Universal Church. This See he calls “**the Head of all the Churches**” (Apostolica Sedes omnium Ecclesiarum Caput est.—*Lib. xiii. Ep. 45, n. 2*); and again :—“As to what they say of the Church of Constantinople, who doubts that it is **subject to the Apostolic See**” (*Lib. ix. Epist. 12*). On this subject see Hawarden’s *Charity and Truth*, Amer. ed. 1860, pp. 212–220; Bottalla on *The Pope and the Church*, vol. i. pp. 62–80.¹

¹⁰ **Council of Chalcedon**.—In *Act. vi.* Paschasinus subscribes as presiding over the Synod in the place of “the most blessed and Apostolic Leo, of the city of Rome, **Bishop of the Universal Church**” (*Τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου*); Lucentius as “Vicar of the most blessed and Apostolic man, Leo, **Bishop of the whole Church**” (*Ἐπέχων τὸν τόπον τοῦ . . . ἀποστολικοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς, πάσης ἐκκλησίας ἐπισκόπου, πόλεως Ῥώμης Λέοντος*).

¹ See also the Protestant writers NEANDER and MILMAN, cited by Card. NEWMAN, *Via Media*, v. i. p. 188, *note*; and Fr. GALLWAY’S *Lectures on Ritualism*, 1878, pp. 222–241.

hood¹³—*The Head and Chief of the Episcopate*¹⁴—*Apostolic Head of Bishops*—*Chief Pontiff and Bishop of Bishops*¹⁵—*Equal in office to*

See Labbe, Tom. iv. pp. 399, 448, 579, 580, &c.; and Hardouin, Tom. ii. pp. 385, 465, 468, 499, &c. In *Act.* xvi. the Pope is again called by Lucentius "**the Apostolic man, and Bishop of the whole Church**" (*Τῷ ἀποστολικῷ καὶ πάσης ἐκκλησίας προὔχοντι ἐπισκόπῳ*.—Labbe, p. 818; Hardouin, p. 644).

¹¹ **Pope Cornelius**, A.D. 250, citing in his Epistle to St. Cyprian the words of the repentant confessors:—"Nos, inquiunt, Cornelium **episcopum sanctissimæ Catholicæ Ecclesiæ** electum a Deo scimus, . . . nec ignoramus unum Deum esse et unum Christum esse Dominum, unum Spiritum Sanctum, **unum episcopum in Catholica Ecclesia esse debere**" (*Epist. Cornel. inter Epist. S. Cyprian.*) See Passaglia, *De Prærogat. S. Petri*, p. 264, seq.

¹² **St. Avitus of Vienne**, A.D. 495:—"We were anxious in mind and fearful in the cause of the Roman Church, as feeling our own position tottering in **the Head** assailed, . . . **the Chief of the Universal Church**. . . . If the Pope of that city is called into doubt, not a Bishop but the Episcopate will at once seem to be in danger" (In laccessito capite . . . in principatum generalis ecclesiæ. . . . Si Papa urbis vocatur in dubium, episcopatus jam videbitur, non episcopus vacillare.—*Epist.* xxxi. Galland. vol. x.)

¹³ **The Emperor Valentinian**, A.D. 430:—"This faith, handed down to us by our forefathers, we ought with all becoming loyalty to defend, and we ought in our days to maintain in its integrity the prerogative of special veneration due to **St. Peter**, seeing that to the most blessed Bishop of the Roman See, **to whom antiquity allotted the Supremacy above all others in the Priesthood**, belong the office and the prerogative of sitting in judgment on questions which concern faith and the priesthood" (Cui principatum sacerdotii super omnes antiquitas contulit.—*Epist. ad Theodosium*, ap. *S. Leonis Mag. Op.* Epist. lv. ed. Baller.) **The Patriarch John VI. of Constantinople**, A.D. 715, calls the Pope "**the Head of the Christian priesthood, whom, in Peter, the Lord commanded to confirm his brethren**" (*Epist. ad Constantin. Pap.* ap. Combefis, *Auctuar. Bibl. PP. Gr.* Tom. ii. p. 211).

¹⁴ **St. Innocent, Pope**, A.D. 410:—"Ad nos, quasi ad **caput atque ad apicem episcopatus referre**" (*Epist.* xxxvii. Galland. Tom. viii.)

¹⁵ **Tertullian**, A.D. 195:—"I hear that an edict has been sent

*other Bishops, but excelling them by the Prerogative of the Apostolic See, by the Authority of his Place*¹⁶—*Apostolic Lord and Father of Fathers*¹⁷—*The Ruler of the Church*¹⁸—*The Overseer of the Christian*

forth, and a peremptory one indeed : to wit, **the Bishop of Bishops, which is equivalent to the Sovereign Pontiff**,¹ proclaims : ‘I remit, to those who have done penitence, the crimes of adultery and fornication.’ . . . But this (edict) is read in the Church, and openly announced in the Church” (Pontifex scilicet Maximus, Episcopus episcoporum edicit.—*De Pudicitia*, c. 1). The **Bishops of three African Councils** (see above, p. 107) address the Pope as “**Apostolic Head of Bishops**” (Præsulum vertex apostolicus), and “**Supreme Pontiff of all prelates**” (Summo omnium præsum pontifici.—*Epist. Synod. ad Pap. Theod. lect. in Concil. Rom. ann. 649.* Hardouin, iii. p. 734).

¹⁶ **Council of Rome, A.D. 378**, regarding Pope Damasus :—“Memoratus frater noster Damasus . . . non fiat inferior his : quibus etsi æqualis sit munere, **prærogativa tamen Sedis Apostolicæ excellit**” (*Epist. Synod.* Labbe, Tom. ii. ; Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 841). **St. Vincent of Lerins** :—“He (Pope Stephen) **excelled all others by the authority of his place**” (Reliquos omnes loci auctoritate superabat.—*Commonit.* c. 6). **St. Augustine** :—“As there is one common function to all of us who discharge the episcopal office, albeit you (Pope Boniface) are yourself **pre-eminent in it by a higher grade**” (Communis est omnibus nobis qui fungimur episcopatus officio specula pastoralis, quamvis ipse in eâ præemineas celsiore fastigio.—*Cont. duas Epist. Pelag. ad Bonif.* Lib. i. n. 2).

¹⁷ The Fathers of the **General Council of Chalcedon** call Pope Leo “**most holy and blessed Father**,” and themselves his “**children**” (*Epist. Synod. Leoni.*) The **Bishops of Dardania**, A.D. 492 :—“To the most holy **Apostolic Lord**, and most blessed

¹ KENRICK thus renders the passage, remarking that there is an inversion in the sentence which is quite familiar to Tertullian. The Pope referred to was Zephyrinus or his predecessor Victor. NEANDER admits that “very early indeed do we observe in the Roman Bishops traces of the assumption that to them, as successors of St. Peter, belonged a paramount authority in ecclesiastical disputes. . . . In the Montanist writings of TERTULLIAN we find indications that the Roman Bishops already issued peremptory edicts on ecclesiastical matters, endeavoured to make themselves considered as the Bishops of Bishops (episcopus episcoporum), and were in the habit of speaking of the authority of their ‘*antecessores*’” (NEANDER’S *Hist. of Church*, Bohn’s edit. vol. i. p. 298).

*Religion*¹⁹—*On whose Deliberation everything depends*²⁰—*He has the*

Father of Fathers,¹ Gelasius, Pope of Rome, the humble Bishops of Dardania" (*Rescript. Ep. Dardan. ad Gelas.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 1165). **Bishops of Africa**, A.D. 649:—"To the most blessed Lord, raised to the height of the Apostolic throne, **the holy Father of fathers, and the Pontiff Supreme over all prelates**, Pope Theodore" (Domino beatissimo, Apostolico culmini sublimato, sancto Patri patrum, et summo omnium præsulum Pontifici.—*Epist. ad Pap. Theod.* Labbe, Tom. vii.; Hardouin, Tom. iii. p. 734). The title of "**Father of fathers**" was frequently given to the Pope by the Orientals from the sixth century downwards. **Theodore the Studite** calls him "**the Supreme Father of fathers**" (κορυφαϊότητος πατήρ πατέρων.—*Lib. i. Epist. xxxiii.* p. 1017, Migne).

¹⁸ **Ambrosiaster**, A.D. 380:—"Whereas the whole world is God's, yet is the Church said to be His House, **of which (Pope) Damasus is at this day the Ruler**" (Ut cum totus mundus Dei sit, Ecclesia tamen domus ejus dicatur, cujus hodie rector est Damasus.—*Comment. in Epist. i. ad Tim. inter Op. S. Ambros.*) **The Emperor Valentinian III.**, A.D. 445:—"Peace can be universally preserved only **when the whole Church acknowledges its Ruler**" (Tunc enim demum Ecclesiarum pax ubique servabitur, si Rectorem suum agnoscat universitas. *Valentin. III. Constitut. ap. S. Leon. M. Op.*)

¹ **St. Colombanus**, who represents the Early IRISH Church, calls the Popes "THEIR LORDS AND FATHERS IN CHRIST," "CHOSEN WATCHMEN," "PRELATES MOST DEAR TO THE FAITHFUL," "THE MOST BEAUTIFUL HEAD OF ALL THE CHURCHES OF THE WHOLE OF EUROPE," "PASTORS OF PASTORS," "THE HIGHEST," "THE FIRST," "THE FIRST PASTORS," "SET HIGHER THAN ALL MORTALS," "RAISED NEAR UNTO THE CELESTIAL BEINGS," "PRINCES OF THE LEADERS," "THEIR FATHERS, THEIR IMMEDIATE PATRONS," "THE STEERSMEN, THE PILOTS OF THE SPIRITUAL SHIP," &c.—Domino sancto, et in Christo Patri Romano, . . . egregio speculatori, &c. (*Epist. ad Greg. Pap.* Galland. xii. p. 345). Domino sancto et in Christo Apostolico Patri Papæ. . . . Sedi Apostolicæ præsidentes, dulcissimos omnibus præsules fidelibus, &c. (*Epist. ad Bonif. Pap. Ib.* p. 349). Pulcherrimo omnium totius Europæ ecclesiarum capiti, Papæ prædulci, præcelso Præsuli, pastorum pastori, . . . humillimus celsissimo, maximo, . . . extremus primo, . . . scribere audet Bonifacio Patri Palumbus (*Ib.* p. 371). Magistris ac spiritualis navis gubernatoribus ac mysticis proretis . . . primum pastorem . . . in specula quasi cunctis mortalibus altior positus vicinusque cœlestium effectus . . . ducum principem, &c. (*Ib.* pp. 352, 353). "Fearing do I moan unto thee alone, who from among the princes art the only hope, **HAVING AUTHORITY THROUGH THE PRIVILEGES OF THE HOLY APOSTLE PETER**" (Dolens ac timens, ad teque tantum qui unica spes de principibus es, per honorem potens Petri Apostoli sancti . . . plango.—*Ib.* p. 353)

*Supervision in matters of Faith*²¹.—*He has Apostolic power over all, and the Primacy in all things*²².—*Contrary to his judgment the*

¹⁹ The heathen historian **Ammianus Marcellinus**, cir. A.D. 360, calls Pope Liberius "**the Overseer of the Christian Law**" (*Christianæ legis antistes*. — *Rerum Gest.* Lib. i. c. 15), and speaks of the "**Superior Authority**" which the Roman Bishops possessed (*auctoritate quâ potiores æternæ Urbis Episcopi*.—Lib. xv. c. 7). **St. Cyprian** declares that the tyrannical Emperor Decius so dreaded this authority, that "he would much more patiently and tolerantly hear that a rival prince was raised against himself, than that a **Bishop of God was established in Rome**" (*Multo patientius et tolerabilius audiret, levare adversus se æmulum principem, quam constitui Romæ Dei sacerdotem*.—*Epist.* lii. ed. Baluz.)¹

²⁰ **St. Boniface I.**, Pope :—"Cum certum sit **summam rerum ex ejus deliberatione pendere**.—*Epist.* xv. *ad Episc. per Macedon.* &c., n. 1). **Ferrandus of Carthage**, A.D. 523 :—"If you desire to know aught of truth, ask in the first place **the Prelate of the Apostolic See, whose sound doctrine is known by the judgment of truth, and confirmed by the weight of authority**" (*Interroga, igitur, si quid veritatis cupis audire, principaliter Sedis Apostolicæ antistitem, cujus sana doctrina constat judicio veritatis, et fulcitur munimine auctoritatis*.—*Epist. ad Severum*.)

²¹ **The Emperor Marcian** to Pope Leo. I. :—"Sanctitatem tuam **principatum in episcopatu divinæ fidei possidentem**" (*Epist.* lxxiii. *inter Op. S. Leon. Mag.*)

²² **Theodoret** :—"I therefore beseech your Holiness to persuade the holy and blessed Archbishop (Leo. I.) to use his **Apostolic power**, and to order me to hasten to your Council. For that most holy Throne has **the Sovereignty over the Churches throughout the world on many grounds**" (τῇ ἀποστολικῇ χρήσασθαι ἐξουσία, . . . "Ἐχει γὰρ ὁ πανάγιος θρόνος ἐκεῖνος τῶν κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐκκλησιῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν διὰ πολλὰ.—*Epist.* cxvi. *Renato*. Tom. iv.) "It pertains to you (Pope Leo) to have **the Primacy**² **in all things**; for your throne is adorned with many prero-

¹ Erasmus, Manutius, Pamelius, and some others read, quam constituti Romæ æmulum sacerdotem—"than that a rival Head of religion or Pontifex Maximus (comp. Tertull. *De Pud.* c. 1) was established in Rome."

² **St. Cyprian** states that Novatian, as Antipope, "usurped the honour of the Sacerdotal Chair," "assumed *the Primacy*," and claimed to "*preside over the Church*" (*Honorem Cathedræ Sacerdotalis*.—*Epist.* 73; *Primum assumere*, . . . *Ecclesiæ præsidere*.—*Epist.* 76).

*Churches cannot make Ecclesiastical Laws*²³—*The Succession of Bishops in the Chair of Peter is the Rock of the Church*²⁴—*To him are*

gatives" (*Διὰ πάντα γὰρ ὑμῖν τὸ πρωτεύειν ἀρμόττει· πολλοῖς γὰρ ὁ ὑμέτερος θρόνος κοσμεῖται πλεονεκτήμασι.*—*Epist.* cxiii. *Leoni*).

²³ **Sozomen**, A.D. 440 :—"It is a sacerdotal law that the things done contrary to the judgment of the Bishop of the Romans be looked upon as null" (*Εἶναι γὰρ νόμον ἱερατικὸν ὥς ἄκυρα ἀποφαίνειν τὰ παρὰ γνώμην πραττόμενα τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου.*—*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 8. *Comp.* c. 10). See also **Socrates**, cited above (p. 82), and the note in *Anti-Janus*, Eng. trans. p. 160. **Pope Damasus**, A.D. 366 :—"The number of those (Arians) assembled at Ariminum ought not to occasion any prejudice against the truth, because they assembled without the sanction of the Bishop of Rome, whose judgment ought to have been awaited before that of all others, or of Vincent of Capua," &c. (*οὐ πρὸ πάντων ἔδει τὴν γνώμην ἐκδέξασθαι.*—*Epist. Synod. ad Ep. Illyric. ap. Theodoret.* *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 17). **St. Avitus of Vienne**, to Senarius, Count of the Patrimony of Theodoric :—"You know that it is one of the laws regarding Councils that, in things which pertain to the state of the Church, if any doubt arises, we should, as obedient members, recur to the Supreme Bishop of the Roman Church, as to our Head" (*Epist. ad Senar.* Galland. Tom. x. p. 726). The **Greek Patriarch Anatolius**, writing to Pope Leo I. regarding the Council of Chalcedon :—"The whole ground and confirmation of what had been done was reserved for your Holiness" (*Cum et gestorum vis omnis et confirmatio auctoritati vestræ Beatitudinis fuerit reservata.*—*Epist. Anatol. Leoni, inter Ep. Leonis* cxxxii. ed. Baller.)

²⁴ **St. Jerome** to Pope Damasus :—"I am linked in communion with your Blessedness, that is, with the Chair of Peter. On that Rock I know that the Church is built" (*Epist.* xv. *ad Damas.*) **St. Augustine** :—"Number the Prelates in the very Chair of the Apostle Peter, and in that order of Fathers see who succeeded to whom. It is the Rock against which the proud gates of hell prevail not."—(*Ps. in Part. Donat.*) See above, p. 66. **Sergius, Metropolitan of Cyprus**, to Pope Theodore :—"O holy Head! Christ our God has destined thy Apostolic See to be an immovable Foundation and a Pillar of the Faith. For thou art, as the Divine Word truly said, Peter; and on thee, as a Foundation, have the pillars of the Church been fixed" (*Epist. ad Theod. lect. in Sess.*

*intrusted the Gate and the Sheep*²⁵—*He is the Shepherd of the Church*—*The Arch-Pastor of the Church which is under Heaven*²⁶—*Ever taught by the sacred Doctor Peter to feed the Sheep of Christ intrusted to him throughout the whole habitable World*—*Appointed by Christ to be the Chief Pastor and Teacher and Physician of Souls*—*The true*

ii. *Concil. Lat. anno 649.* Hardouin, Tom. iii. p. 728). “The writings of the Fathers,” says Hergenröther, “whenever they speak of the Pope, are full of echoes and allusions to those Scriptural words (Matt. xvi. 18), and what is said of Peter the Popes claim decidedly for themselves.”—*Anti-Janus*, p. 63.

²⁵ **St. Ambrose**, A.D. 385, to Pope Siricius, who had ordered that Jovinian and others should be excommunicated in the Church of Milan :—“ We have recognised in the letter of your Holiness the watchfulness of **the good Shepherd, who dost faithfully keep the Gate intrusted to thee, and with pious solicitude dost guard the Fold of Christ**, worthy, indeed, that the Lord’s sheep should hear and follow thee ” (Recognovimus literis sanctitatis tuæ boni pastoris excubias, qui fideliter commissam tibi januam serves, et pia solitudine Christi ovile custodias, dignus quem oves Christi audiant et sequantur.—*Epist. xlii. Siricio*. Tom. ii. p. 966).

²⁶ **St. Jerome**, writing from the East to Pope Damasus :—“ From **the Shepherd** the sheep asks protection ” (A pastore præsidium ovīs flagito.—*Epist. xv.*) **St. Columbanus**, writing in the name of the **Irish Church** to Pope Boniface IV. :—“ Watch, therefore, for the peace of the Church ; help thy sheep already affrighted at the dread, as it were, of wolves. Wherefore use, O Pope, the pipings and the well-known voice of the true Shepherd, and stand between thy sheep and the wolves, so that, casting away their fear, thy sheep may in everything know thee **the Chief Pastor** ” (Subvenite ovibus vestris . . . utere veri, O Papa, Pastoris sibilis notaque voce, et sta inter illos et lupos, ut deposito pavore tunc primum te ex integro cognoscant pastorem. — *Epist. ad Bonf. Pap.* Galland. Tom. xii. p. 352). “**The Pastor of pastors** ” (Pastorum pastori.—*Ib.* p. 351). **St. Theodore Studites** :—“ To the most holy and supreme Father of fathers, my Lord Leo, Apostolic Pope :—Since on the great **Peter**, Christ our God, after the keys of the kingdom of heaven, conferred also **the dignity of the Pastoral Headship** (τῆς ποιμνι-*αρχίας ἀξίωμα*), to **Peter** surely, or **his successors**, whatever innovation is made in the Catholic Church by those who err from the truth must be referred. . . . Save us, **Arch-Pastor of the Church**

Pastor and Doctor, to whom the care of the Sheep is intrusted for their salvation ²⁷—*On account of the dignity of his Throne, the care of all*

which is under heaven" (Σῶσον ἡμᾶς ἀρχιποιῦμεν τῆς ὑπ' οὐρανὸν ἐκκλησίας.—*Lib. i. Epist. xxxiii. ad Leon. III.* Migne, *Patrol. Gr.* Tom. xcix. pp. 1018–1020).

²⁷ The Bishops of the East, suffering under the schism of Acacius, write to Pope Symmachus, A.D. 500:—"But do thou, as an affectionate Father among children, beholding us perishing by the prevarication of our father Acacius, not delay: (thou) who art daily taught by the sacred Doctor Peter to feed the sheep of Christ intrusted to thee throughout the whole habitable world, gathered together not by force, but of their own accord" (*Eccles. Orient. ad Symmach. Ep. Rom.* Labbe, ed. Venet. Tom. v. 434; Mansi, *Concil.* Tom. viii. p. 221). The Archimandrites, Presbyters, and Deacons of Syria to Pope Hormisdas, A.D. 514:—"To the most holy and blessed Patriarch of the whole earth, Hormisdas, holding the See of Peter, Prince of the Apostles . . . : Since Christ our God has appointed you Chief Pastor, and Teacher and Physician of souls, we beseech you therefore, most blessed Father, to arise and justly condole with the Body torn to pieces, for you are the Head of all, and avenge the Faith despised, the Canons trodden underfoot, the Fathers blasphemed. The Flock itself comes forward to recognise its own Shepherd in you, its true Pastor and Doctor, to whom the Care of the Sheep is intrusted for their salvation" (*Relat. Archimand., &c., ad Hormisd. Pap.* Labbe, ed. Ven. Tom. v. p. 598; Mansi, Tom. viii. p. 424).

²⁸ Sozomen, A.D. 448, says of Pope Julius, to whom St. Athanasius and other Eastern Bishops deposed by the Arians had appealed: "And as, on account of the dignity of his Throne, the care of all belongs to him, he restored to each his own Church" (Οἷα δὲ τῆς πάντων κηδεμονίας αὐτῷ προσηκούσης διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τοῦ θρόνου, ἐκάστῳ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐκκλησίαν ἀπέδωκε.—*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii. c. 8). Socrates says:—"They acquainted the Bishop of Rome with their case,¹ and he, according to the prerogative (προνόμια) possessed by the Church in Rome, fortified them with free-spoken letters, and sent them back to the East, restoring

¹ Pope Clement I., A.D. 96, in his reply to the appeal made by the Church of Corinth, says:—"IF ANY DISOBEY THE WORDS SPOKEN BY GOD THROUGH US, let them know that they will entangle themselves in transgression and no small danger, but We shall be clear from this sin. . . . You will cause Us joy and exultation if, OBEYING THE THINGS WRITTEN BY US THROUGH THE HOLY

*belongs to him*²⁸—*The Vicar of Christ—With whom whoso gathereth*

each to his own place, and remarking on those who had violently deposed them. They then set out from Rome, and on the strength (*θαρρύντες*) of the letters of Bishop Julius again take possession of their Churches" (*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 15). Theodoret, speaking of the attempts made by the Arian Bishops of the East to depose St. Athanasius, says:—"But (Pope) Julius, adhering to the law of the Church, both commanded (*ἐκέλευσε*) them to repair to Rome, and summoned the divine Athanasius to trial" (*εἰς τὴν δίκην ἐκάλεσε*.—*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 4, ed. Vales.) St. Basil, A.D. 370, writes from the East to Pope Damasus:—"We have looked forward to the supervision of your mercifulness as the only solution of these things (the spread of the Arian heresy throughout the East.) . . . We ask for nothing new, but what was customary with blessed and religious men of old, and especially with yourself. For we know . . . that (Pope) Dionysius, that most blessed Bishop, who was eminent among you for orthodoxy, sent letters of visita-

SPIRIT, you cut out the lawless passion of your jealousy, according to the intercession we have made for peace and concord in this letter" (*Epist.* i. *ad Corinth.*) See notes in pp. 90, 91 of this work.

The reader will have remarked that few of the Papal Epistles cited in this work are of higher antiquity than the fourth and fifth centuries, the reason of which is that the series of genuine Decretal Letters that have been preserved commences only with Pope SIRICIUS. It has been shown, however, that **Tertullian**, **Firmilian**, and other hostile writers speak of the "*peremptory edicts*," &c., of earlier Popes, and of their claiming supreme authority as successors of St. Peter. We learn also from EUSEBIUS that **Pope Victor** (A.D. 190) *threatened* to excommunicate the whole of the Asiatic Churches for their non-observance of Easter according to the Roman custom, from which extreme measure he was deterred chiefly by the pacific representations of St. IRENÆUS, who "becomingly exhorted him," says Eusebius, "not to cut off whole Churches of God, which observed the tradition of an ancient custom" (*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. v. c. 24). MILMAN says that the Pope "assumed unwonted authority," and "peremptorily demanded a Council to judge the Asiatic Bishops" (*Hist. of Latin Christ.* vol. i. pp. 42, 43); yet it does not appear that his *authority* to interfere in the affairs of the Eastern Churches, or even to excommunicate them, was called in question even by those most interested in denying it; and it is clear, as Keurick remarks, that his threat was not looked upon as an insolent assumption of power or an idle waste of words, but that every effort was made, by argument, remonstrance, and entreaty, to avert its execution. Such facts as the above suffice to show that the Papal power was by no means dormant even during the age of persecution; but, as before remarked, it would be unreasonable to expect that, in such times, the Popes should have exposed themselves to the danger of immediate martyrdom by openly proclaiming, as they so unreservedly did after the downfall of heathenism, their Supreme Headship over the whole Christian community.

*not, scattereth, and belongeth to Antichrist*²⁹—*His authority is derived*

tion to our Church of Cæsarea. . . . But our affairs are now in a more difficult and sad condition, and require greater care. . . . So that unless you be moved to aid us at once, you will not in a short time find any one to stretch your hand to, as all will have fallen under the sway of heresy" (*Epist.* lxx. Tom. iii. Part ii. pp. 163, 164).

Under this and several other headings contained in the present section might be ranged numerous historical facts illustrative of the Papacy *in action*, and showing in what a variety of ways the early Popes exercised that supreme authority which they were universally acknowledged to possess.¹ These facts are briefly summarised by Dr. Klee in his *Treatise on the Church*, Eng. trans. pp. 158–174; by Hergenröther in his *Anti-Janus*, Eng. trans. pp. 110–140; and they are more fully stated by Kenrick in his *Primacy of the Apostolic See Vindicated*, 4th edit. In the last-named work see especially ch. x., "*Ancient Examples of Papal Authority*;" ch. xi., "*Guardianship of the Faith*;" ch. xii., "*Governing Power—Exercise of Authority*;" ch. xiii., "*The Hierarchy*;" ch. xiv., "*Deposition of Bishops*" (including Eastern Patriarchs, see pp. 180, 181); and ch. xv., on "*Appeals*."

²⁹ Council of Rome, A.D. 494. In their acclamations at the close of this Council, the Fathers call Pope Gelasius "**the Vicar of Christ**" (*Vicarium Christi te videmus, Apostolum Petrum te videmus.*—*Concil. Rom. sub Gelas.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 2275). St. Jerome to Pope Damasus:—"He that gathereth not with thee, scattereth; that is, he who is not of Christ, is of Antichrist" (*Quicumque tecum non colligit, spargit; hoc est, qui Christi non est, Antichristi est.*—*Epist.* xv. *ad Pap. Damas.*)

¹ St. Chrysostom thus appeals to Pope Innocent after the attempt made to depose him by Theophilus of Alexandria and his Synod:—"Vouchsafe to write back that the things which have so wickedly been done by one party, whilst I was absent and did not decline a trial, HAVE NO FORCE (*μηδέμιν εχειν ισχύν*), as indeed they have not of their own nature; and that they who have been proved to have thus acted against all law BE SUBJECTED TO THE LAWS OF THE CHURCH. . . . Having weighed all these things, and having learnt everything more clearly from the religious lords, my fellow-Bishops, bring to this matter, I beseech you, that zeal which is required at your hands. For thus will you gratify not us alone, but all the Churches in common," &c. (*Epist.* i. *ad Innocent.* Tom. iii. p. 520).

A passage from the appeal of Theodoret to Pope Leo I. is given above in p. 80. Other ancient examples will be found in KENRICK'S *Primacy of the Apostolic See*, chap. xv. "*Appeals*."

*from the authority of Holy Scripture, and is of Divine Institution*³⁰—
*Placed by God on a Watch-tower, higher than all mortals, his Spiritual Care extends over all places where the name of God is preached.*³¹

³⁰ **St. Augustine** and the **Council of Milevis**, A.D. 416, to **Pope Innocent** :—"We think that those who entertain such perverse opinions will more readily yield to the authority of your Holiness, derived as it is from the authority of Holy Scripture" (*Auctoritati Sanctitatis tuæ, de sanctarum Scripturarum auctoritate depromptæ, &c.*—*Epist.* clxxvi. n. 5). **St. Leo the Great** :—"The care which, in virtue of our Headship, we owe, by the Divine institution, to all the Churches" (*Curam, quam universis Ecclesiis principaliter ex divina institutione debemus.*—*Epist.* xiv. *ad Anastas. Thessalon. Episc.* c. 1). "Solicitudo, quam universæ Ecclesiæ ex Divina institutione dependimus" (*Epist.* xii. *ad Episc. Prov. Maurit. Cæsar.* c. 1).¹ **Council of Rome**, A.D. 494 :—"The holy Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church has been raised above the other Churches, not by any Synodal decrees, but from the Evangelic voice of our Lord and Saviour has it obtained the Primacy, He saying, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock,' " &c. (*Decret. Concil. Rom. sub Gelas.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 1261; and in Denzinger's *Enchiridion*, p. 41, ed. 1874). This extract is given here (as many others from the preceding part of this work might be), because what is said of the Roman Church is evidently said of, and on account of, its Bishops as successors of St. Peter. Thus, also, the Fathers of the **Sixth General Council**, held at Constantinople, A.D. 680, so little distinguish "*inter sedem et in eâ sedentem*," that they identify Pope Agatho and his See as one and the same. They address him, ὡς πρωτοθρόνῳ σου τῆς οἰκουμενικῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπὶ τὴν στερεὰν πέτραν ἐστῶτι :—"To thee, therefore, as the first See of the Universal Church, standing on the firm rock of faith, we leave what is to be done" (Hardouin, Tom. iii. p. 1631; Labbe, Tom. vii. p. 1110).

³¹ **Pope Coelestine**, A.D. 423 :—"Placed as we are by God on a watch-tower, . . . our spiritual care fails not as regards places however distant, but extends through all places where the name of God is preached" (*Epist.* iv. *Univ. Episc. per Vienn. et Narbon. Prov.* n. 1). **St. Columbanus** :—"In specula quasi cunctis mortalibus altior positus," &c. (*Epist. ad Bonif.* Galland. xii. p. 252).

¹ Dean MILMAN says :—"He (Leo I.) does not rest his title to supremacy on his Patriarchal power; . . . he grounds it on THE UNIVERSAL DOMINION WHICH BELONGS TO THE SUCCESSORS OF ST. PETER" (*Hist. of Lat. Christ*, Bk. ii. ch. iv.)

Venerable Bede, speaking of the conversion of this country as attributable to Pope Gregory the Great, says :—"Whereas he bore the Pontifical power over all the world,¹ and was placed over the Churches already reduced to the faith of truth, he made our nation, till then given up to idols, the Church of Christ" (*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 1, Eng. trans. in Bohn's Antiquarian Library).

THE following extracts from the writings of **Stephen of Dora**, **Alcuin**, **Theodore the Studite**, **Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople**, and **St. Bernard** are here appended for the purpose of showing still more plainly what was the belief universally held regarding Papal prerogatives in the seventh, eighth, ninth, and following centuries.

Stephen, Bishop of Dora, first member of the Synod of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, in his petition read in the Lateran Council, under Pope Martin, A.D. 644, says² :—"Who shall give us the wings of a dove, that we may fly and report this to your **Supreme See, which rules and is set over all**, that the wound may be entirely healed? For this the great **Peter**, the Head of the Apostles, has been wont to do with power from of old, by his Apostolical or Canonical authority: since manifestly not only was he alone beside all thought worthy to be intrusted with the Keys of the kingdom of heaven, . . . not to say that he was first set in charge to feed the sheep of the whole Catholic Church; for He says, '*Peter, lovest thou Me? Feed My sheep.*' And again, in a manner special and peculiar to himself, having a stronger faith than all in our Lord, and unchangeable, to convert and confirm his spiritual partners and brethren, when tossed about by doubt, having had power and sacerdotal authority providentially committed to him by the very God for our

NEANDER says :—"The idea completely absorbed his mind that a certain superintendence and jurisdiction over the whole Church belonged to him as successor of St. Peter. . . . The position which he assumed for himself was that of a certain primacy, a certain supreme jurisdiction, which it belonged to him to assert over the whole Church" (*Hist. of the Church*, Bohn's ed. vol. iv. pp. 220, 223. Comp. vol. iii. p. 242). Speaking of the "False Decretals of Isidore," the same historian says :—"In truth, even what had been said by a **LEO THE GREAT**, concerning the Pope's Primacy over the whole Church, involves the principle of all that is to be found in the Decretals" (*Ib.* vol. vi. p. 7).

¹ *Primum in toto orbe pontificatum gereret*,—more correctly rendered "WAS THE PRIMATE OVER ALL THE WORLD."

² Mr. Allies' translation.

sakes Incarnate" (Ap. Hardouin, Tom. iii. p. 712, *seq.*; Mansi, x. p. 894).

Alcuin, who flourished cir. A.D. 780, thus addresses Pope Leo III. :—"To Leo the Pope, the most blessed Lord, &c. . . . As much as ever I could, have I always loved the most blessed Princes and Shepherds of the holy Roman See; wishful to be numbered, through their most holy intercession, among Christ's sheep, which Christ our God intrusted unto the blessed Peter, Prince of the **Apostles, to be fed.** This I acknowledge was truly becoming, that the multitude of this flock, though abiding in sundry pastures of the earth, should, by the one faith of love, be placed under its Shepherd, whom, as a godly Pastor, it becometh to have a great care for the flock intrusted to his keeping, &c. . . . Behold, **thou art, most holy Father, the Pontiff chosen by God, the Vicar of the Apostles, the Heir of the Fathers, the Nourisher of the one Spotless Dove.** In the kindness of fatherly feeling, by thy most holy prayers, and sweetest exhortations of sacred writings, gather us unto God's holy Church, within the very strong bonds of the Church's soundness, lest any of us, wandering about, should be met on the outside to be devoured by the ravenousness of the wolf" (Ecce tu, sanctissime Pater, Pontifex a deo electus, Vicarius Apostolorum, hæres Patrum, Princeps Ecclesiæ, unius immaculatæ columbæ nutritor, &c.—*Alcuin. Epist. Op. Tom. i. p. 30, ed. Froben.*)

Theodore, Abbot of the Studium at Constantinople, thus addresses Pope Paschal I., A.D. 817 :—"Hear, **O Apostolic Head, O Shepherd of the sheep of Christ, set over them by God! O Doorkeeper of the kingdom of heaven! O Rock of the faith upon which the Catholic Church is built! For Peter thou art, who adornest and governest the Chair of Peter. To thee said Christ our God, 'And thou, in thy turn, one day confirm thy brethren.'** Behold the time, behold the place; help us, **thou who art ordained by God for this! Stretch forth thy hand as far as may be: power thou hast from God, because thou art the Chief of all.** Terrify, we beseech thee, the wild beasts of heresy with the sword of thy divine word. Good Shepherd, give thy life for the sheep. Let the whole Church which is under heaven hear that thou hast in thy Council anathematised all who dare to do such things, and to anathematise our holy Fathers" (*Epist. Lib. ii. Ep. xii. Migne, Patrol. Gr. Tom. xcix. p. 1152, seq.*)

Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople, writes to Pope Nicholas, A.D. 869 :—"Of the wounds and sores of human members

art has provided many physicians, of whom one has treated this disease and another that, using in their experience amputation or cure. But of diseases which are in the members of our Saviour Christ and God, the Head of us all, and of His spouse the Catholic and Apostolic Church, **the Supreme Chief and most powerful Word, Orderer, and Healer, the God of all, has provided one singular, pre-eminent, and most Catholic Physician, your fraternal Holiness and paternal Goodness.** Wherefore He said to Peter, the great and supreme Apostle, '*Thou art Peter,*' &c. And again, '*I will give to thee the Keys,*' &c. For such blessed words He did not, surely, according to a sort of lot, circumscribe and define to the Prince of the Apostles alone, but **transmitted by him to all who, after him, according to him, were to be made Supreme Pastors, and most divine and sacred Pontiffs of olden Rome.** And, therefore, from of old, and the ancient times, when heresies and contradictions have arisen, many of those who preceded there your Holiness and Supreme Pastors have many times been made the pluckers-up and destroyers of evil tares, and of sick members, plague-struck and incurable; being, that is, successors of the Prince of the Apostles, and imitating His zeal in the faith, according to Christ; and now, in our times, your Holiness hath worthily exercised the power given to you by Christ."—(Ap. Mansi, *Concil.* Tom. xvi. p. 47. Labbe, Tom. viii. p. 1009, *seq.*)

St. Bernard, A.D. 1150, thus addresses Pope Eugenius III.:—
"Who art thou? **The High Priest, the Supreme Bishop. Thou art the Prince of Bishops, thou art the Heir of the Apostles. Thou art Abel in primacy, Noah in government, Abraham in the patriarchal rank, in order Melchisedech, in dignity Aaron, in authority Moses, Samuel in the judicial office, Peter in power, Christ in unction. Thou art he to whom the Keys of heaven are given, to whom the Sheep are intrusted.** There are, indeed, other doorkeepers of heaven, and other shepherds of the flocks; but thou art the more glorious in proportion as thou hast also, in a different fashion, inherited before others both these names. The former have the flocks assigned to them, each one his own: **to thee all are intrusted, one flock for the one. Not merely for the sheep, but for all the shepherds also thou art the One Shepherd.** Whence do I prove this, thou askest? *From the word of the Lord.* For to whom—I say not among the Bishops, but among the Apostles—have the whole flock been committed in a manner so absolute and undistinguishing? '*If thou lovest Me, Peter, feed My sheep.*' What sheep? The inhabitants

of this or that city or country, those of a particular kingdom? 'My sheep,' He saith. Who does not see that **He designates not some, but all?** Nothing is excepted where nothing is distinguished. The power of others is limited by definite bounds; **thine extends even over those who have received authority over others.** Canst thou not, when a just reason occurs, shut up heaven against a Bishop, depose him from his episcopal office, and deliver him over to Satan? Thus thy privilege is immutable, as well in the keys committed to thee, as in the sheep intrusted to thy care."—(*De Considerat.* Lib. ii. c. 8, quoted by Hergenröther, *Anti-Janus*, Eng. trans. p. 100.)

*Notes on the First Four General Councils, and
the Council of Sardica, in relation to the
Papal Supremacy.*

I.

First Council of Nicæa, A.D. 325.—This Council, occasioned by the heresy of the Arians, and summoned by the Emperor CONSTANTINE, with the consent of Pope SYLVESTER,¹ was composed of 318 Bishops, most of whom were Orientals. It was *presided over* by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, in Spain, and two Roman priests, Vitus and Vincentius, who represented the Pope,² by whom the acts of this Council subse-

¹ No Acts of this Council are extant; but we are told by RUFINUS that it was summoned by the Emperor "*ex sententia sacerdotum*" (*Hist. Eccles.* Lib. i. c. 1); and the SIXTH ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL, held at Constantinople, A.D. 680, and chiefly composed of Eastern Bishops, declares explicitly that the First Council of Nice was "convoked by the Emperor AND BY POPE SYLVESTER" (Κωνσταντίνος ὁ ἀείσεβεστατος καὶ Σίλβεστρος ὁ ἀοίδιμος τὴν ἐν Νικαίᾳ μεγάλην . . . συνέλεγον σύναδον.—*Act.* xviii. Hardouin, Tom. iii. p. 1417). POPE JULIUS, A.D. 341, declared, in general terms, that there was "AN ECCLESIASTICAL RULE THAT THE CHURCHES SHOULD NOT MAKE SYNODICAL LAWS OR ORDINANCES WITHOUT THE CONSENT OF THE BISHOP OF ROME (μὴ δεῖν παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης κανονίζειν τὰς ἐκκλησίας.—*Socrat. Hist. Eccles.* Lib. ii. c. 17); and, in the GENERAL COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON, one of the charges against Dioscorus was, that "*he had dared to hold a Council without the consent of the Apostolic Throne, WHICH HAD NEVER BEEN DONE OR LAWFUL TO DO*" (Hardouin, Tom. ii. p. 68; Mansi, Tom. vi. p. 581).

² GELASIUS CYZICENUS, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, cir. A.D. 470, distinctly states, in his *History of the Council of Nice*, that "Hosius represented Pope Sylvester" (Osius, . . . qui Silvestri Episcopi maximæ Romæ locum obtinebat.—*Hist. Concil. Nic.* Lib. i. c. 5). DOLLINGER says:—"The right of *presiding* was conceded without contradiction by all General Councils to the Pope, in the person of his Legates. That at Nice, Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, and the priests Vitus and Vincentius presided as the Legates of the Pope, is clear from the order in which Socrates names those who were present, and from the testimony of Eusebius, cited by Gelasius" (Dollinger's *Hist. of the Church*, Eng. trans. vol. ii. p. 222). HEFELÉ remarks that "in all the lists of signatures, without one exception, Hosius and the two Roman priests *sign the first, and after them Alex-*

quently received a special *confirmation*.¹ The only reference that is made to the Bishop of Rome in the extant decrees of the First Council of Nice occurs in the 6th Canon, which runs thus:—“*Let the ancient customs be confirmed which have prevailed in Egypt, and Lybia, and Pentapolis, that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have jurisdiction over all those districts, since this is customary to the Bishop of Rome.*” In some very ancient Latin MSS., and in the Greek, as read by Paschasinus, the Pope’s Legate, in the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON,² the Canon begins with the words:—“*The Roman Church always had the Primacy*, but nevertheless let the ancient customs be confirmed,” &c.; and, in accordance with this, the Imperial Commissioners who assisted at that Council declared “that the most ancient right and the pre-eminence (πρὸ πάντων τὰ προτεία καὶ τὴν ἐξάλρετον τιμὴν) belong to the Bishop of ancient Rome” (Hardouin, ii. p. 642).

It seems evident, however, that the 6th Nicene Canon has no reference to the Primacy of the Pope over the whole Church, since the Council was not treating of this Primacy, but merely of the *Patriarchal* jurisdic-

ander, Patriarch of Alexandria,” &c. (*Hist. of Church Councils*, Introduct. § 5. See also JUNGSMANN, *Dissert. in Hist. Ecclesiast.* vol. i. p. 425, *seq.*)

Moreover, in the Catalogues of Bishops given by GELASIUS (Lib. ii. c. 27 and 36), the two Roman presbyters are specially connected with Hosius in the words, “Hosius . . . *per eos qui cum ipso erant Romanos presbyteros Vitonem et Vincentium*,” which show that they formed one Legation with him (see Muzzarelli, *De Auctor. Rom. Pont.* Tom. i. c. 5, § 3). In answer to the objection that only Vitus and Vincentius are said by Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret to have been sent by the Pope to Nice, and that Hosius did not subscribe (as did the two presbyters) as Legate of the Roman Pontiff, Professor JUNGSMANN remarks, first, that Vito and Vincentius were sent from Rome with the order to join Hosius, who was then with the Emperor Constantine; and, secondly, that it was not necessary for Hosius, when subscribing, openly to declare the Papal Legation, which all were aware of, and which was sufficiently shown by the fact of his subscribing before all other Bishops. Vito and Vincentius had to sign as Papal Legates, because, being merely priests, they would as such have had no right to take any part in the Conciliar proceedings.

¹ See HEFELE (*Introduct.* § 6). The COUNCIL OF ROME, A.D. 485, says expressly that “the three hundred and eighteen Bishops assembled at Nice *referred the confirmation and authority of matters to the holy Roman Church*” (*confirmationem rerum atque auctoritatem sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ detulerunt*.—Hard. Tom. ii. p. 856; Mansi, vii. p. 1140); and Hefele adds other proofs to those which Baronius had already given, to show that the forged documents of the sixth century, which relate to that matter, owed their origin only to the generally known fact. See also HERGENRÖTHER’S *Anti-Janus*, p. 125; and JUNGSMANN, *Diss. Select.* i. p. 452.)

² It has been shown by the BALLERINI that the only text of the 6th Nicene Canon read at the Council of Chalcedon was that cited by Paschasinus; and that the second Greek copy—which is now published in the Acts of that Council, and in which the clause, “*The Roman Church always had the Primacy*,” is omitted—was a later addition.

tion of the Bishop of Rome. "We must bear in mind," says HEFELE "that several ecclesiastical dignities meet in the person of the Pope. He is Bishop, Metropolitan, Patriarch, and lastly, Primate of the whole Church. Each of these dignities may be considered apart from the rest, and this is what the 6th Canon of Nice has done : . . . it does not consider the Pope as Primate of the Universal Church or as simple Bishop of Rome, but as one of those great Metropolitans who had many ecclesiastical provinces under their jurisdiction." And again :—"In support of its ordinance the Council refers to the fact that the Bishop of Rome already had rights¹ analogous to those which it recognises in the Bishop of Alexandria (and in the Bishop of Antioch). It is evident that the Council does not here allude to the universal supremacy of the Pope, but simply to his power *as Patriarch* : it is, indeed, only under this point of view that an analogy could be established between Rome and Alexandria or Antioch." (Compare DOLLINGER. *Hist. of the Church*, ii. p. 234 ; JUNGSMANN, *Dissert. Select.* i. p. 448.) The words "*since this is customary to the Roman Bishop*" (ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθες ἐστίν) are, however, interpreted by Baronius, Bellarmine, Bouix, Murray, and others to mean that *it was customary to the Bishop of Rome to permit* the See of Alexandria to hold Patriarchal jurisdiction over Egypt, Lybia, and Pentapolis. (Vide MURRAY, *De Ecclesia*, Diss. xix. sec. 4, § 439, seq., 1866.)

II.

The Council of Sardica, the ŒCUMENICAL character of which is maintained by Baronius, Natalis Alexander, the Ballerini, Mansi, and Palma, was assembled A.D. 342, at the desire of Pope JULIUS, by the Emperors CONSTANS and CONSTANTIUS (*Epist. Encycl. in Athanas. Apol. cont. Arian.* c. 44). About one hundred orthodox Bishops were present, and St. ATHANASIUS says that its decrees were signed or agreed to by "more than 300 Bishops" (*Apol. cont. Arian.* c. 1). Like the Council of Nice, it was presided over by Hosius, assisted by the Roman priests Archidanus and Philoxenus, whose signatures in the list given by St. Athanasius (*Ib.* c. 50) appear immediately after that of Hosius.

St. ATHANASIUS calls the Council of Sardica "*a great Synod*" (μεγάλη σύνοδος, *Apol.* c. 1), and SULPICIUS SEVERUS says that it was "*ex toto orbe convocata*" (*Hist. Lib.* ii.) It was called *Œcumenical*² by the Emperor JUSTINIAN in his Edict (A.D. 346) on the Three Chapters (Hardouin, Tom. iii. p. 317). The COUNCIL OF TRULLO, in its 2d

¹ It is not true, as stated by some Anglican and Protestant writers, that the Council confirmed the usage of the Church of Rome. On the contrary, the usage of Alexandria was confirmed *because it had the authority of the Roman usage*. See Jungmann, p. 450.

² Professor JUNGSMANN says :—"Videtur dicendum, concilium illud convocatione fuisse œcumenicum, et etiam in sua celebratione et conclusione hunc characterem conservasse" (*Dissert. Select.* vol. ii. p. 24).

Canon, approved of the Sardican Canons (*Ib.* p. 1659), and Pope NICHOLAS I. said of them : “ *Omnis ecclesia recipit eos* ” (*Ib.* pp. 135B, 1814A).

The 7th Canon of this Council was cited as *Nicene* by the Bishops of the THIRD ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL, who were reassembled in Constantinople A.D. 382 (*vide* Hefele’s *Hist. of Ch. Councils*, Eng. trans. vol. ii. pp. 133, 134, and 378); and the 5th Sardican Canon was also cited as *Nicene* by Pope ZOSIMUS, A.D. 417, by Popes BONIFACE, CŒLESTINE, and LEO THE GREAT, and in the TWELFTH COUNCIL OF TOLEDO, A.D. 681 (Hardouin, Tom. ii. pp. 26, 38 ; iii. p. 1720, n. 4, &c.) Hence the Council of SARDICA has been generally regarded as a continuation of or appendix to that of NICE, and as possessing the same authority. Hefele, however, remarks that the confusion arose from the fact that, in the most ancient MSS., the Canons of Sardica were placed immediately after those of Nice, and under the common title of “Canons of the Council of Nice.”

The 3d, 4th, and 5th Canons of the Council of Sardica relate to the subject of *Appeals to Rome* (Hefele, vol. ii. pp. 112–129, Eng. trans.) The 3d Canon is to this effect :—“If any Bishop is condemned (deposed), but thinks his case a good one, so that a fresh sentence ought to be pronounced, then, out of respect to the memory of the Apostle Peter, a letter shall be addressed to Rome to Pope Julius, so that, if necessary, he may appoint a new court, composed of the Bishops near the province in question, and may himself appoint the judges” (*Hef.* p. 115). The 4th Canon adds, “that if a Bishop has been deposed by the sentence of those Bishops who are in the neighbourhood, and he desires again to defend himself, no other shall be appointed to the See until the Bishop of Rome has judged and decided thereon” (*Ib.* p. 116). The 5th Canon, that if in the case of such appeal the Pope considers a fresh examination necessary, “then he shall write to the Bishops being nearest the province in question, that they may thoroughly investigate the matter, and give sentence in accordance with the truth. But if the appellant can induce the Bishop of Rome to send priests of his own, to constitute, with the appointed Bishops, the court of second instance, and thereby to enjoy the authority of belonging to himself (the Pope), it shall be open to the Pope to do so. But should he think the Bishops alone sufficient for the court of appeal, he shall do what seems to him good” (*Ib.* p. 120).

These Canons were adopted by the whole Council, and report was made of the whole proceedings to Pope Julius in a Synodical Letter, in which the title of “HEAD” is given to “THE SEE OF THE APOSTLE PETER” (Hardouin, Tom. i. 653 ; Mansi, p. 340).

In answer to the Gallican and Protestant objection that this Council conferred new rights on the Pope, HEFELE says that it has been “conclusively shown that this was not the case, but rather that the right of the Pope to receive appeals was involved in the idea of the Primacy as a Divine institution, and had, in fact, been exercised before the Synod of Sardica, which only expressly defined and declared it” (*Ib.* p. 122).

DOLLINGER says that the Council "reduced the right of appeal *to a more determinate form*" (vol. ii. p. 229). See also KENRICK, *On the Primacy*, p. 192; JUNGSMANN, ii. 25, *seq.*

The formula "*Si placet*," used in the 3rd Canon, "has not," adds HEFELE, "the meaning often ascribed to it by Synods, *i.e.*, 'If pleasing to you, we will introduce a new thing'—in dogmatic expressions such a meaning would be heterodox; but, 'If pleasing to you, we will declare or pronounce this or that.'" MURRAY (*De Eccles.* vol. iii. p. 698) shows that it was used by the ancient Councils even when propounding dogmatic definitions, and that Hosius might thus have said, "If it pleases you, let us define the Divinity of Christ" (*Ib.* p. 687). Again, the words of the same Canon, "*Sancti Petri Apostoli memoriam honoremus*," do not imply that the Council intended to confer any new right on the Pope, for "every direct acknowledgment even of a Papal right," says HEFELE, "is always made out of reverence to St. Peter, as the person in whom the Primacy was conferred by Christ;" and NATALIS ALEXANDER observes that "to declare that the appeals of Bishops are to be referred to the Supreme Pontiff, in order to honour the memory of Peter, is the same thing as to say that he is the Successor of St. Peter in the government of the whole Church, and that, in virtue of that succession and supremacy, the right of judging of episcopal appeals belongs to him as Head of the whole Church. Hence, what the Sardican Fathers express in the 3d Canon by the words, '*If it seem good to your charity, let us honour the memory of blessed Peter*,' they also declare in the Synodical Epistle to Pope Julius in these terms:—'*For this will seem to be best, and by far the most congruous, if the priests of the Lord from each of the several provinces refer to the Head, that is, to the See of the Apostle Peter*.' Thus, to honour the memory of St. Peter in the Roman Pontiffs, and to recognise the See of Peter as Head of all the Churches, is really the same thing. Whence it follows that the right of receiving and judging of episcopal appeals from all parts of the Church—which right was implicitly contained in the dignity of Head of the Church—belonged to the Pope *jure divino* and in all previous ages, although it was not formulated and explicitly declared in any written law before the Council of Sardica" (*Dissert.* 28 in Sæc. 4, Prop. 1).

It has been objected, again, that the Sardican Canons were not received by the Oriental Churches; but this objection, says HERGENRÖTHER, was "long ago refuted by Pope Nicholas I. John Scholasticus admitted these Canons into his Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws; the Council in Trullo, A.D. 692, names the two Canons expressly; Photius inserted them in his *Nomocanon*; and many Greeks have appealed¹ to them" (*Anti-Janus*, p. 130).

¹ DOLLINGER says that "*many* Bishops of the East (besides the Patriarchs—such as St. John Chrysostom, Flavian, and John Talaia) appealed to the Apostolic See, when in their controversies with heretics they had been driven from

The Canons of the Council of Sardica were inserted in the Canon Law of the ancient SYRIAC Church (vide *Antiquæ Ecclesiæ Syro-Chaldaicæ Traditio circa Petri Apost. ejusque Successor. Div. Primatum*, auct. Joseph. David, Romæ, 1870, p. 48); also in that of the ancient ARMENIAN Church (*Eccles. Armen. Tradit. de Rom. Pont. Primatu*, &c., auct. Steph. Azarian, Romæ, 1870, p. 43).

III.

The First Œcumenical Council of Constantinople, A.D. 381, "was," says DOLLINGER, "a Council of Oriental Bishops only, and acquired the authority of an Œcumenical Synod by the subsequent acceptance and confirmation of the Pope" (Dolling. *Hist. of the Church*, vol. ii. p. 220). This confirmation only referred to "the *decrees on faith* of the Council of Constantinople, not to its Canons" (Hefele, vol. ii. p. 374). "On account of *its Creed*, Gregory the Great reckons it as one of the four Œcumenical Councils, which he compares to the four Gospels. So also, before him, the Popes Vigilius and Pelagius II. reckoned this Synod among the Œcumenical Councils" (*Ib.* p. 373). So far, however, were its *Canons* from receiving acceptance, that when, at the Council of Chalcedon, in 451, the Eastern Bishops desired to renew and confirm the 3d Canon, "the Papal Legates left the assembly, lodged a protest against it on the following day, and declared that the rules of the 150 Bishops of Constantinople were never inserted among the Synodal Canons (*Hard.* ii. p. 635; *Mansi*, vii. p. 442). The same was maintained by Pope LEO I., who immediately after the close of the Council of Chalcedon wrote to Bishop Anatolius of Constantinople:—"That document of certain Bishops (*i.e.*, the 3d Canon of Constantinople) was never brought by your predecessors to the knowledge of the Apostolic See'" (*Epist.* cvi. *Anatol.* c. 5). At a later period, GREGORY THE GREAT wrote in the same sense:—"Romana Ecclesia eosdem canones sive gesta Synodi illius non habet, nec accepit; in hoc autem eandem Synodum accepit quod est per eam contra Macedonium definitum" (*Epist.* Lib. vii. 34).

The 3d Canon referred to, "*The Bishop of Constantinople shall hold the first rank after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople is new Rome*," disarranged the order of rank of the second and third Patriarchal Sees—Alexandria and Antioch—as established by the 6th Canon of Nice, and shows the commencement of that policy of ambition for which the Bishops of Constantinople, encouraged by the Eastern Emperors,

their Churches. This was done in 357 by Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste, when he had been deposed by the Council of Militine in Armenia: the Council of Tyana reinstated him in his bishopric in consequence of a letter from the Pope, which annulled the previous judgment. The same respect was shown by the Council of Chalcedon to the sentence of Pope Leo I., to whom Theodoret of Cyprus had appealed" (*Hist. of Church*, ii. p. 229). See Kenrick *On the Primacy*, pp. 183-204).

afterwards became so notorious, and which, in the ninth century, culminated in the Great Eastern Schism. (*Vide* JAGER'S *Hist. de Photius*, Introd. Paris, 1844; HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius*, Bk. i. c. 2; JUNGSMANN, *Dissert. Sel.* ii. 121, *seq.*) At a much later period, when, after the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins, a Latin Patriarchate had been founded there in 1204, Pope Innocent III. and the twelfth General Council, in 1215, allowed that Patriarch the first rank after the Roman; and the same was permitted to the Greek Patriarch at the Council of Florence in 1439.

IV.

The Œcumenical Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), in which the heretic NESTORIUS and his followers were condemned, was convoked by the Emperor THEODOSIUS II. in conjunction with the Western Emperor VALENTINIAN III.; and a letter of POPE CŒLESTINE, dated 15th May 431, and addressed to Theodosius, shows that the Pope had given his consent to the convocation of the Council, to which he promised to send Legates, with full power to represent him (*Hard. Tom.* i. p. 1473; *Mansi*, *Tom.* iv. p. 1291).

The Council was presided over by St. Cyril of Alexandria,¹ to whom Pope CŒLESTINE delegated his own authority, sending also, as he had promised, three other Legates to the Council: Philip, a priest of the Roman Church, and Projectus and Arcadius, Bishops. Philip, because a priest of the Roman Church, appears from the Acts of the Council to take precedence of his two colleagues, though Bishops; whence it has been concluded that he ranked in reality as a Cardinal.

HEFELE remarks that "all the original documents are unanimous in stating that St. Cyril only presided over the Council *because he represented Pope Cælestine*. This is expressly declared by EVAGRIUS (*Hist.*

¹ ST. CYRIL had previously written to the Pope regarding the heresy of NESTORIUS, Patriarch of Constantinople, declaring that he wrote "OF NECESSITY," because "THE LONG-ESTABLISHED USAGE OF THE CHURCH OBLIGES US TO MAKE KNOWN SUCH MATTERS TO YOUR HOLINESS. . . . We did not publicly break off communion with him (Nestorius) before we had made known the case to your Holiness. . . . But it is necessary that your Holiness's judgment be made known (also) to the Bishops of Macedonia and the East" (*Epist. viii. Cælest. n. 1, 7. Galland. Tom. ix.*)

In his reply, after condemning Nestorius, and ordering those who had been excommunicated by him to be admitted to communion, Pope CŒLESTINE says:—"ARMING YOURSELF, THEREFORE, WITH THE AUTHORITY OF THIS OUR SEE, AND USING OUR SUCCESSION (*i.e.*, ACTING IN OUR STEAD), YOU SHALL WITH RESOLUTE SEVERITY PUT IN EXECUTION THIS SENTENCE," &c. (*συναφθελος σοι της αυθεντίας του ημετέρου θρόνου, τη ημετέρα διαδοχῇ χρησάμενος, ταύτην ἐκβιβάσεις ἀκριβεῖ στερόβότητι τὴν ἀπόφασιν.*—*Epist. xi. n. 3, 4.*)

In his instructions to the Legates, when about to proceed to the Council, the Pope, after directing them to follow the counsel and wishes of St. Cyril, and to "preserve the authority of the Apostolic See," adds:—"For the instructions

Eccles. Lib. i. c. 4), POPE VIGILIUS, in the profession of faith that he signed (*Hardouin*, Tom. iii. p. 10), and MANSUETUS, Bishop of Milan, in his Epistle to the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus (*Ib.* p. 1050). In other documents Pope Cœlestine and St. Cyril are together named Presidents of the Council. The Acts of the COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON repeatedly so call them (*Hard.* i. pp. 402, 451); also the Emperor MARCIAN (*Ib.* p. 671), and, in the fifth century, the BISHOPS OF ARMENIA, in their letter to the Emperor Leo (*Ib.* p. 742)."

In the first Act of the Council, sentence of deposition was passed on NESTORIUS by the Bishops—"BEING NECESSARILY CONSTRAINED," as they declare themselves, "BOTH BY THE CANONS, AND BY THE LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER AND FELLOW-MINISTER, CŒLESTINE, THE BISHOP OF THE CHURCH OF THE ROMANS" (*Concil. Eph. Act* i. Labbe, Tom. iii. p. 534; *Hardouin*, Tom. i. p. 1422).

In the second Session of the Council "ARCADIUS, Bishop and Legate of the Church of the Romans, said :—"Let your Blessedness order the Letter of the Holy Pope Cœlestine, the Bishop of the Apostolic See, to be read, FROM WHICH YOU WILL BE ABLE TO KNOW WHAT CARE HE HAS OF ALL THE CHURCHES.'" St. CYRIL said :—"Let the Letter received from the most holy and ever-blessed Cœlestine, Bishop of the Apostolic See, be read to the Synod with fitting honour." PROJETUS, the Legate, said :—"Let it please your Holiness to consider the tenour (τὸν τυπὸν) of this Letter of the holy and venerable Pope Cœlestine, that so you may give orders THAT THE JUDGMENT which he was pleased some time ago to pronounce, and now brings to your mind, MAY BE PUT

which have been given you are to this purport, that you ought to be present in the assembly; but if there came to be any contention, YOU OUGHT TO JUDGE OF THEIR OPINIONS, not enter into dispute" (*Epist.* xvii. Galland. ix. p. 324). In his Letter to the Council the Pope says that he had sent his Legates "to be present at what is done, AND TO EXECUTE WHAT HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY ORDAINED BY US. To whom we doubt not that assent will be given by your Holiness" (*Epist.* xviii. n. 5, *Ib.* p. 327).

In his Epistle to NESTORIUS himself, the Pope, after authoritatively condemning his errors, says :—"Understand clearly, therefore, this our sentence; that unless you preach concerning Christ our Lord what the Church of Rome, the Church of Alexandria, and the Universal Catholic Church holds, and what the great city of Constantinople held till this time, and unless you, by a public and written profession of faith, shall within ten days after you come to the knowledge of this ordinance, condemn these traitorous novelties, which attempt to separate what Holy Scripture joins, you are hereby degraded from the communion of the Universal Catholic Church. And this our sentence we have sent in form . . . to our holy fellow-priest the Bishop of Alexandria, *that he may act in our place*" (*Epist.* xiii. n. 11, p. 313, et ap. *Hard.* i. p. 1307).

The Protestant historian NEANDER admits that the Pope "*claimed for himself a supreme judicatory authority,*" and "*by the sovereign authority of the Apostolic See*" empowered St. Cyril to depose Nestorius (*Hist. of Church*, Bohn's ed. vol. iv. p. 145).

IN EXECUTION ENTIRELY AND PERFECTLY, as our common faith prescribes." FIRMUS, Bishop of Cappadocia, said :—"The holy Apostolic See of the most holy Bishop Cœlestine has already, by the Letter sent to the most religious Bishop Cyril, PRESCRIBED THE SENTENCE AND THE ORDER (τυπον) TO BE OBSERVED IN THE PRESENT COURSE. We have adhered to this, and have put that decree into execution, pronouncing the canonical and apostolical judgment on him." PHILIP, priest and Legate of the Apostolic See, said :—"We give thanks to the holy and venerable Synod, that THE LETTER OF THE HOLY AND BLESSED POPE HAVING BEEN READ TO YOU, YOU HAVE JOINED YOURSELVES, BY YOUR HOLY VOICES AND ACCLAMATIONS, AS HOLY MEMBERS TO YOUR HOLY HEAD. FOR YOUR BLESSEDNESS IS NOT IGNORANT THAT THE BLESSED APOSTLE PETER IS THE HEAD OF ALL THE FAITH, YEA, AND OF THE APOSTLES" (Φίλιππος πρεσβύτερος καὶ πρεσβευτῆς τῆς ἀποστολικῆς καθέδρας εἶπε· Χάριτας ὁμολογοῦμεν τῇ ἀγίᾳ καὶ σεβασμίᾳ συνόδῳ ὅτι ἀναγιγνωσκομένων ὑμῖν τῶν γραμμάτων τοῦ ἀγίου καὶ μακαρίου πάπας ἡμῶν, τὰ ἅγια μέλη ταῖς ἀγίαις ὑμῶν φωναῖς, τῇ ἀγίᾳ κεφαλῇ καὶ ταῖς ἀγίαις ὑμῶν ἐκβοήσεσιν εἰσενηνόχατε· οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ ὑμῶν ἡ μακαριότης, ὅτι ἡ κεφαλὴ ὅλης τῆς πίστεως ἡ καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων ὁ μακάριος Πέτρος ὁ ἀπόστολος.—*Act. ii.* Labbe, Tom. iii. pp. 611–620 ; Hardouin, Tom. i. pp. 1470, 1471).

In the 3d Session, the deposition of Nestorius having been again read, the Legate PHILIP said :—"It is doubtful to none, yea rather it has been known to all ages, that THE HOLY AND MOST BLESSED PETER, THE PRINCE AND HEAD OF THE APOSTLES, THE PILLAR OF THE FAITH, AND FOUNDATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, received from our Lord Jesus Christ the Keys of the kingdom, and to him was power given to bind and to loose sins ; who, even until now, and always, BOTH LIVES AND EXERCISES JUDGMENT IN HIS SUCCESSORS. Wherefore, our holy and most blessed Pope Cœlestine, the Bishop, HIS SUCCESSOR IN ORDER, AND HOLDER OF HIS PLACE, has sent us to the holy Synod as representative of his person. As, therefore, Nestorius, the author of this new impiety, has not only allowed *the term fixed by the Apostolic See* to pass by, but also a much longer period of time, the sentence upon him stands ratified by a decree of all the Churches. . . . Wherefore, let Nestorius know that he is cut off from communion with the priesthood of the Catholic Church" (*Act. iii.* Labbe, p. 626 ; Hard. p. 1477). See Greek in pp. 24, 111.

Arcadius and Projectus having delivered judgment to the same effect, the deposition of Nestorius and Acts of the Council were first signed by all the Legates of the Pope, St. Cyril, the priest Philip, and the Bishops Arcadius and Projectus (Hard. i. p. 1527). The following year, Pope SIXTUS III., the successor of Cœlestine, *confirmed* the Council of Ephesus in a more solemn manner, in a number of circular or private letters, some of which are still preserved (Mansi, Tom. v. p. 374, *seq.* ; Coustant, p. 1231, *seq.*)

V.

The General Council of Chalcedon, in which EUTYCHES, the leader of the Monophysites, and his heresy were condemned, was held A.D. 451, and was composed of about 600 Bishops, of whom all, or nearly all, with the exception of the Roman Legates, were of the Eastern Church.

The assembly of a great Council, composed of Bishops from all parts of the world, had been proposed to the Emperor THEODOSIUS II. by Pope LEO I. in A.D. 449, and Italy had been pointed out by him as the most suitable country for its convocation (*Leonis Epist.* xlv. ed. Bal. Tom. i. p. 910, *seq.*) After some delays, the Council was assembled¹ at Chalcedon by the succeeding Emperor, MARCIAN, and was *presided over by the three Papal Legates*²—Paschasinus and Lucentius, Bishops, and Boniface, a priest of the Roman Church.

The declaration of the assembled Bishops in their Synodal Epistle to the Pope is alone decisive of the question of Papal *presidence*:—"OVER WHOM" (the assembled Bishops), they say, "THOU (LEO) HAST PRESIDED, AS HEAD OVER THE MEMBERS, IN THOSE WHO HELD THY PLACE" (*Ὡν σὺ μὲν ὡς κεφαλὴ μελῶν ἡγεμόνευες ἐν τοῖς τὴν σὴν τάξιν ἐπέχουσι.*—

¹ In a letter to the Bishops at Chalcedon, the Pope declared the Council to have been convoked "ex præcepto Christianorum principum ET EX CONSENSU APOSTOLICÆ SEDIS" (*Epist.* cxiv.) The Emperor had already written to the Pope: "The Synod should be convoked WITH YOUR AUTHORITY" (te auctore—*Epist.* lxxiii.) "This part," says Hefele, "taken by the Pope in the convocation of the Council of Chalcedon was universally recognised; so that, some time afterwards, the Bishops of Mysia declared, in a letter addressed to Leo, Emperor of Constantinople:—'Many Bishops are assembled at Chalcedon BY COMMAND OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF LEO, WHO IS TRULY THE HEAD OF BISHOPS'" (Per jussionem Leonis Romani Pontificis, qui vere caput episcoporum.—Hard. *Concil.* Tom. ii. p. 710).

² On the 24th of June 451, the Pope wrote to the Emperor Marcian that he had appointed Paschasinus, Bishop of Lilybæum in Sicily, as his Legate to the Council, and that this Bishop ought TO PRESIDE OVER THE SYNOD IN HIS PLACE (Prædictum fratrem et co-episcopum meum vice meâ Synodo convenit præsidere.—*Epist.* lxxxix. Tom. i. p. 1062). In his Epistle to the Council of Chalcedon, St. LEO says:—"In the brethren Paschasinus and Lucentius, Bishops, and Boniface and Basilus, priests, who have been sent by the Apostolic See, let your fraternity consider THAT I PRESIDE AT YOUR SYNOD, and think not my presence separated from you, who am now with you in my vicars," &c. (In his fratribus meis, . . . qui ab Apostolicâ Sede directi sunt, me Synodo vestra fraternitas æstimet præsidere.—*Epist.* xciii. c. 1). In the third Session, Paschasinus declared, in his own name and that of the other Legates, that the Pope had "ordered them TO PRESIDE OVER THE COUNCIL IN THE PLACE OF HIMSELF" (Nostram parvitatem huic sancto Concilio pro se præsidere præcepit, scil. Papa Leo.—Hard. ii. p. 310); and writing some time later to the Bishops of Gaul, the Pope speaks of the Legates as "my brethren who presided over the Eastern Synod IN MY PLACE" (Fratres mei, qui vice meâ Orientali Synodo præsiderunt.—*Epist.* ciii. ed. Bal. p. 1141).

Hard. ii. p. 656); for although the Imperial Commissioners occupied the place of honour, and governed the exterior arrangements of the Council, they neither voted when questions of faith were discussed, nor signed any of the Acts. The Pope's Legate, says HEFELE, always signed first, often adding to his name, even when the Emperor was present, the title of "*Synodo præsidens*" (Hard. Tom. ii. p. 467, 366).

As extracts from the Acts of this Council¹ have been freely cited, and the invalidity of the celebrated **28th Canon** shown in the earlier part of this work (see pp. 82, 83, *notes*, 111, 112, 113), it may suffice to adduce in this place the following particulars:—

At the outset of the proceedings, the Papal Legate PASCHASINUS declared:—"We have instructions from the most blessed and Apostolic Pope of the city of Rome, the **HEAD OF ALL THE CHURCHES**, by which his Apostleship has thought fit to enjoin that Dioscorus, Archbishop of Alexandria, shall not sit with us, but be put on his defence." LUCENTIUS, another of the Legates, explained that the reason of this step was that Dioscorus had "**DARED TO HOLD A COUNCIL WITHOUT THE AUTHORITY OF THE APOSTOLIC SEE, WHICH HAD NEVER BEEN DONE, NOR LAWFUL TO DO**" (*Act. i.* Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 94; Hard. Tom. ii. p. 68).

The Council then proceeded to admit THEODORET to his seat, from which he had been excluded at first on account of his deposition by the "robber-Council" held at Ephesus a few years previously. His admission was now urged by the imperial officers on the ground that "the most holy Archbishop Leo had **RESTORED** him to his episcopal dignity."

In the third Session various charges against DIOSCORUS were heard, and sentence was at once passed, without putting the question to the Council, by the Legate Paschasinus. It was pronounced in the following terms²:—

"The aggressions committed by Dioscorus, late Bishop of Alexandria, have been clearly proved. For not to mention the mass of his offences, he did on his own authority uncanonically admit to communion his partisan Eutyches, after having been canonically deprived by his own Bishop, viz., our sainted Father and Archbishop Flavian, and this before he sat in Council with the other Bishops at Ephesus. To them, indeed, **THE HOLY SEE GRANTED PARDON** for the transactions of which they were not the deliberate authors, and they have hitherto continued *obedient to the most holy Archbishop Leo* and the body of the holy and universal Synod, on which account he also admitted them into communion with him as being his fellows in faith; whereas Dioscorus has continued

¹ A good popular account of the Councils of Ephesus and Chalcedon, with copious extracts from their Acts, will be found in Fr. GALLWEY'S *Lectures on Ritualism*, 1878: Lect. vii., *The Faith of Leo the Great*; Lect. viii., *The Faith of the Council of Ephesus*.

² Sconce's translation.

to maintain a haughty carriage on account of those very circumstances over which he ought to have bewailed, and humbled himself to the earth. Moreover, he did not even allow the Epistle to be read which the blessed Pope Leo had addressed to Flavian, of holy memory; and that, too, notwithstanding he was repeatedly exhorted thereto by the bearers, and had promised with an oath to that effect. The result of the Epistle not being read has been to fill the most holy Churches throughout the world with scandals and mischief. Notwithstanding, however, such presumption, *it was our purpose to deal mercifully with him* as regards his past impiety, *as we had done to the other Bishops*, although they had not held an equal judicial authority with him. But inasmuch as he has, by his subsequent conduct, overshot his former iniquity, and has presumed to pronounce excommunication against Leo, the most holy and religious Archbishop of Great Rome; since, moreover, in the presentation of a paper full of grievous charges against him to the holy and great Synod, he refused to appear, &c., &c. . . . he has thus given his own verdict against himself. Whereupon LEO, the most holy and blessed Archbishop of the great and elder Rome, HAS, BY THE AGENCY OF OURSELVES AND THE PRESENT SYNOD, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE THRICE-BLESSED AND ALL-HONOURED PETER, WHO IS THE ROCK AND FOUNDATION OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, AND BASIS OF THE ORTHODOX FAITH, DEPRIVED HIM OF THE EPISCOPAL DIGNITY AND EVERY PRIESTLY FUNCTION. Accordingly, this holy and great Synod decrees the provisions of the Canons against the aforesaid Dioscorus" (*Act. iii. Labbe, Tom. iv. p. 425; Hardouin, Tom. ii. p. 345*).

To this sentence all the Prelates assembled gave, one after another, their full assent, beginning with ANATOLIUS, Archbishop of Constantinople, who said:—"Agreeing in all things with the Apostolic See, I join in this condemnation passed on Dioscorus."

The sentence was then committed to writing, and signed by the whole Synod. Paschasinus, Lucentius, and Boniface, the Legates, severally signed first, appending their names to these words:—"On the part of Leo, of the city of Rome, the most blessed and Apostolical Pope of the Universal Church, PRESIDING at this Synod, I have subscribed to the condemnation of Dioscorus, with the unanimous consent of the Council."

Before drawing up a confession of faith, as a defence against the Eutychian heresy, the Council ordered several documents to be read, the most important, and that by which it was almost entirely guided, being the celebrated Tome or dogmatic Letter of POPE LEO. After reading this letter, the Fathers exclaimed, "This is the faith of the Apostles: we all believe this; the orthodox believe this; anathema to him who does not thus believe. PETER HAS SPOKEN THUS BY THE MOUTH OF LEO" (*Πέτρος δια Δέοντος ταῦτα ἐξεφώνησεν.—Act. ii. Labbe, p. 368; Hardouin, p. 305*). The subsequent "examination" of this Letter by the Council (which some Gallican and Protestant writers have referred to as being inconsistent with its reception as an *ex cathedra* definition) was not what theo-

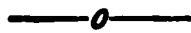
logians term an *examen revisionis*, but an *examen elucidationis*. (See JUNGSMANN'S *Dissertat. Select. in Hist. Ecclesiast.* vol. ii. pp. 286–302.) The adhesion and signatures of the Bishops were required for a full security against the further spread of the Eutychian heresy in the East, but not for a confirmation of St. Leo's dogmatic teaching, which in the second Session of the Council had been acclaimed, by the morally unanimous consent of the Fathers, as forming, together with the definitions of previous General Councils, the foundation of that exposition of the faith which they were about to promulgate.¹

The Papal *confirmation* of the Canons of this Council (including the so-called **28th Canon**, of which the history is given in the earlier part of this work²) was earnestly requested by the Fathers in their Synodical Letter to Pope Leo ; also by the Emperor Marcian, who solicited from the Pope a document of approval to be made known to all the Churches : —“*Tua pietas literas mittere dignabitur, per quas omnibus populis et ecclesiis manifestum fiat in sancto Synodo peracta a tuâ Beatitudine rata haberi*” (*Leon. Epist.* xcvi. c. 4 ; *Epist.* cx. ; ed. Ballerin.)

¹ Father RYDER observes that “agreement with the explicit teaching of the Church must ever be a note, a *sine quâ non*, of all orthodox teaching, and this ‘examen elucidationis,’ bringing out the correspondence between the different portions of the Church’s teaching, is part of the duty of a General Council. The shepherd judges the sheep, ‘*I know my sheep* ;’ but there is a sense in which the sheep judge the shepherd, ‘*My sheep know me*.’ If the shepherd were inconsistent with himself he would not be the shepherd. Repeatedly, for the sake of bringing out this consistency, have the decrees of General Councils universally accepted been submitted to a ‘judicium elucidationis.’” —*Answer to Littledale’s ‘Plain Reasons,’* p. 64.

² Vide *supra*, p. 83, *seq. note*, in which the true facts regarding the so-called 28TH CANON of the Council of Chalcedon—so constantly but so ignorantly appealed to by Anglican and Protestant controversialists—are stated at length, and therefore need not be recapitulated in this place.

APPENDIX.



ST. PETER IN ROME.

DR. CAVE, a learned Protestant writer, says :—"That Peter was at Rome, and for some time resided there, *we intrepidly affirm with the whole multitude of the ancients*. We produce witnesses altogether unexceptionable, and of the very highest antiquity,—IGNATIUS, Bishop of Antioch, a disciple of St. Peter, or at least his successor in the See of Antioch (*in Epist. ad Rom.*); PAPIAS OF HIERAPOLIS, a hearer of John the Evangelist, or of the (contemporary) Presbyter John (*ap. Euseb. Lib. ii. c. 15*); IRENÆUS OF LYONS, a man of the Apostolic age, and disciple of St. Polycarp (*adv. Hær. Lib. iii. c. 1, c. 3*); DIONYSIUS OF CORINTH (*ap. Euseb. Lib. ii. c. 15*); TERTULLIAN (*De Præscr. Hæret. c. 36*; *De Bapt. c. 4*; *Scorpiace, c. 15*); CAIUS, the Roman presbyter, an ecclesiastic of great renown (*ap. Euseb. Lib. ii. c. 25*); ORIGEN (*Tom. iii. in Gen., ap. Euseb. Lib. iii. c. 1. Conf. Lib. vi. c. 14*). We have in another work (*Lives of the Apostles*) vindicated the testimonies of all these writers against Spanheim's exceptions. . . . After names so venerable, therefore, after monuments of antiquity so many and so illustrious, who will call in doubt a matter so clearly and constantly attested?" (*Script. Eccles. Hist. Literar. Genevæ, 1720, p. 5*). Although he denies St. Peter's advent to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and his permanent residence in Rome as its Bishop, CAVE nevertheless says :—"Laxiori quidem sensu Romanum Episcopum dici posse, quatenus hujus Ecclesiæ fundamenta posuit, eamque martyrio suo illustrem reddidit, mecum opinor fatebuntur omnes tam veteres, quam recentiores" (*Ib. p. 8*).

Dr. NATHANIEL LARDNER, another eminent Protestant writer of the last century, after stating at length the patristic evidence for St. Peter's labours and martyrdom in Rome, says :—

"It is not needful to make many remarks upon this tradition. But it is easy to observe, that it is the general, uncontradicted, disinterested testimony of ancient writers in the several parts of the world,—Greeks, Latins, Syrians. As our Lord's prediction concerning the death of St. Peter is recorded in one of the four Gospels, it is very likely that Christians would observe the accomplishment of it, which must have been in some place. And about this place there is no difference among Christian writers of ancient times. Never any other place was named beside Rome. Nor did any other city ever glory in the martyrdom of Peter. There were in the second and third centuries disputes between the Bishop of Rome and other Bishops and Churches about the time of keeping Easter and about the baptism of heretics. Yet none denied the Bishop of Rome to have what they called the Chair of Peter.

"It is not to our honour nor our interest, either as Christians or Protestants, to deny the truth of events ascertained by early and well-attested tradition. If any

make an ill use of such facts, we are not accountable for it. We are not, from a dread of such abuses, to overthrow the credit of all history, the consequence of which would be fatal.

"Fables and fictions have been mixed with the accounts of Peter's being at Rome, but they are not in the most early writers—they have been added since. And it is well known that fictions have been joined with histories of the most certain and important facts" (*Hist. of the Apostles and Evangelists*, ch. xviii. republished in vol. ii. of Bishop Watson's *Theological Tracts*).

BASNAGE writes:—"Neque ulla unquam traditio fuit, quæ majore testium numero cingatur: ut de Petri in urbem adventu dubitari non possit, quin omnia historiæ fundamenta convellantur" (Bassn. *ad ann.* 64, n. ix. ap. Lardner, *l.c.*)

BARRATIER, another learned Protestant, says:—"Tantus hac in re omnium consensus fuit, ut sane miraculo debuerit esse, quosdam nostris sæculis ortos, factum adeo manifestum negare præsumpsisse" (*De Success. Ep. Rom.* c. i. n. i, ap. Lardner, *l.c.*)

Archbishop BRAMHALL says:—"That St. Peter had a fixed chair at Antioch, and after that *at Rome*, is what no man who giveth any credit to the ancient Fathers, and Councils, and historiographers of the Church can either deny or well doubt of" (*Works*, p. 628, ed. Oxon.; cited in *Brit. Crit.* No. lxiv. p. 352).

Dr. ROBERTSON, Canon of Canterbury, and late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in King's College, says:—"It is not so much a spirit of sound criticism as a religious prejudice which has led some Protestants to deny that the Apostle was ever at Rome, where *all ancient testimony* represents him to have suffered, together with St. Paul, in the reign of Nero" (*Hist. of the Church*, vol. i. p. 4, ed. 1875).

A large number of eminent Protestant writers, early and modern, agree with those above cited in regarding as incontestable the historical evidence for St. Peter's work and martyrdom in Rome: amongst these may be mentioned PEARSON, WHITBY, HAMMOND, USHER, BLONDEL, GROTIUS, WHISTON, NEANDER, SCHAFF, &c., &c. Many of these writers, however, deny that St. Peter came to Rome until a short time before his death, and are unwilling to acknowledge his establishment and personal occupation of the episcopal *Cathedra* in that city—which fact has been nevertheless learnedly demonstrated by the Protestant Bishop PEARSON in his *Opera Posthuma*, Lond. 1688.

The persistent attempts made by some recent Anglican controversialists to suppress or misstate the historical evidence relative to St. Peter's Roman episcopacy are worthy of notice.

Thus Dr. BAYLEE, the late Principal of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead, in his third letter to Bishop Browne on *The Infallibility of the Church of Rome*, says:—"You cannot be ignorant¹ that there is really *no historical evidence that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome*. Eusebius declares Linus to have been the first Bishop of Rome" (!).

The author of *Papal Claims Considered in the Light of Scripture and History*, 1881, p. 97, says:—"It was *long* before St. Peter was spoken of as Bishop either of Rome or Antioch, especially of the former. Even in the time of the Nicene Council *Eusebius does not speak of Peter as the first Bishop of Rome*, . . . and *he reckons the Bishops from Linus, without ever speaking of St. Peter as Bishop of Rome*" (!).

¹ With this modest remark compare the "negare non potes scire te" of St. OPTATUS in p. 63, &c.

Dr. LITTLEDALE also, in his *Plain Reasons against Joining the Church of Rome*, p. 15, has the assurance to say:—"It is only a *guess* that St. Peter was ever at Rome at all; it is only a *guess* that he was ever Bishop of Rome, and for this there is very little evidence of any kind. The only (!) ante-Nicene testimony which expressly assigns the See of Rome to St. Peter is the apocryphal Clementine Homilies. The first (!) post-Nicene witness who is clear on the subject is Optatus of Milevis, A.D. 386, and he is contradicted by Epiphanius and Rufinus" (!!).

The reader who has studied the evidence adduced in Part ii. sect. i. of the present work will be able to form his own judgment regarding the ignorance or dishonesty displayed in the statements above quoted. It will suffice to oppose to them, in this place, the candid admission of the late Dean MILMAN, that "*before the end of the third century, the lineal descent of Rome's Bishops from St. Peter was unhesitatingly claimed and obsequiously admitted by the Christian world*" (*Hist. of Early Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 370, ed. 1840); and to refer the reader for a complete vindication of St. Peter's Roman Episcopacy to such works as SANGUINETTI'S *De Sede Romana B. Petri Princ. Apost. Commentarius Hist. Criticus*, Romæ, 1867), and Prof. JUNGSMANN'S *Dissert. Select. in Hist. Eccles.* vol. i. pp. 27-107.

In reference to the *Policy of Reserve* observed by the Scripture writers with regard to St. PETER and his movements after his escape from prison (Acts xii. 17), the reader will do well to consult the Hon. COLIN LINDSAY'S work *De Ecclesia et Cathedra*, vol. ii. pp. 926-938.

As the policy of the Heathen authorities would certainly be to "*smite the Shepherd* in order that the sheep of the flock might be scattered," it is easy to understand that not only the Scripture writers, but the early Christians in general, would naturally refrain from speaking more openly than was necessary about the "PRIMUS PONTIFEX CHRISTIANORUM" (as St. Jerome calls St. PETER) and his official acts; and that above all things they would be cautious not to refer, in documents that might be used against them by their enemies, to his establishment of the Supreme Pontificate in the imperial city. This, no doubt, was the reason why St. PETER himself, writing from Rome, calls it by the figurative name of "*Babylon*" (1 *Pet.* v. 13), a term which would be only intelligible to the Christians themselves (see Dollinger's *First Age of the Church*, 2d ed. p. 98). Pope CLEMENT I. (A.D. 96) and St. IGNATIUS (A.D. 114) show that they were guided by a similar policy of reserve; the first, when writing—not in his own name, but in that of his *Church*—his authoritative letter to the Corinthians; the second, when, writing to "the Church presiding in the covenant of love" at Rome, he so carefully abstains from openly referring to *its Bishop* or his prerogatives. Vide *supra*, pp. 51, 110, notes.

Instances, however, in which the early Popes had to depart from this policy of reserve are by no means wanting. In a passage already cited, the Protestant NEANDER admits that "*very early indeed do we observe in the Roman Bishops traces of the assumption that to them, AS SUCCESSORS OF ST. PETER, belonged a paramount authority in ecclesiastical disputes*" (vol. i. p. 298), referring especially to the action of Popes Victor, Zephyrinus, and Stephen in the controversies of their times. For the reason above mentioned these Popes could certainly have had no *interested* motives in thus putting themselves forward: nothing short of an imperative sense of duty could have impelled them to do so. Again, the Eastern and African Bishops, against whom they had to assert their high prerogatives, would have had the strongest possible motives for contesting their claims, and openly denying their succession from St. Peter—the admitted foundation of those claims—had such a course been practicable; yet there is no single instance on

record of such denial or repudiation having proceeded from contumacious Bishops of the East, or even from the most headstrong and unscrupulous of ancient heretics or schismatics. The succession of the Bishops of Rome from St. Peter was clearly a matter not open to doubt : even those most interested in denying it, and who had ample opportunities of referring to the very earliest Christian records and traditions, never once thought of calling in question a fact so notorious and indisputable. What the Legate PHILIP declared, *nemine contradicente*, before the Eastern Fathers assembled at the Council of Ephesus, was therefore a simple historical fact :—" *It is doubtful to none, yea rather it has been known to all ages, that the most blessed Peter, the Prince and Head of the Apostles, the Pillar of the Faith, the Foundation of the Catholic Church, . . . ever lives and exercises judgment IN HIS SUCCESSORS*" (*Act. iii. Hardouin, Tom. i. p. 1477*).

DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPAL POWER.

To those who reflect that the Church itself was at first but "a little flock" (*Luke xii. 32*), and compared to "a grain of mustard-seed, the least of all seeds," and that only gradually and by slow degrees was it to become great and powerful, it can be no matter of surprise or difficulty that the prerogatives of its Chief Pastor and visible Head were not spoken of by St. Clement and St. Ignatius in such terms as were in use in the fifth and following centuries. Certainly kings and queens had not as yet become the "nursing fathers and mothers of the Church," nor "bowed down before her with their faces to the earth, to lick up the dust of her feet" (*Isai. xlix. 23*). "We must ever keep in view," says Cardinal Hergenröther, "that the Primacy was never as a ready-made system traced out for the constitution of the ancient Church, but was deposited in it like a fructifying germ, which developed with the life of the Church. . . . According to the will of Providence, the Primacy was to enter on the domain of history ; hence it could not be circumscribed within exact and sharply-defined limits, but must be allowed such a freedom of movement and of development as would enable it to enforce in every sphere its divine power, according to the various circumstances and special needs of different ages."

"It is true," says Cardinal Newman, "that St. Ignatius is silent in his Epistles on the subject of the Pope's authority ; but if that authority was not, and *could not be*, in active operation then, such silence is not so difficult to account for as the silence of Seneca or Plutarch about Christianity itself, or of Lucian about the Roman people. St. Ignatius directed his doctrine according to the need. While Apostles were on earth there was need neither of Bishop or Pope ; their power was dormant, or exercised by Apostles. In course of time, first the power of the Bishop awoke, and then the power of the Pope. When the Apostles were taken away, Christianity did not at once break into portions ; yet separate localities might begin to be the scene of internal dissensions, and a local arbiter in consequence would be wanted. Christians at home did not yet quarrel with Christians abroad ; they quarrelled at home amongst themselves. St. Ignatius applied the fitting remedy. The *Sacramentum Unitatis* was acknowledged on all hands ; the mode of fulfilling and the means of securing it would vary with the occasion ; and the determination of its essence, its seat, and its laws would be a gradual consequence of a gradual necessity. . . . For St. Ignatius to speak of Popes, when it was a matter of Bishops, would have been like sending an army to arrest a housebreaker. . . .

"When the Church, then, was thrown upon her own resources, first local

disturbances gave rise to Bishops, and next œcumenical disturbances gave rise to Popes. . . . It is not a greater difficulty that St. Ignatius does not write to the Asian Greeks about Popes than that St. Paul does not write to the Corinthians about Bishops. And it is a less difficulty that the Papal Supremacy was not formally acknowledged in the second century than that there was no formal acknowledgment of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity till the fourth. No doctrine is defined until it is violated. And, in like manner, it was natural for Christians to direct their course in matters of doctrine by the guidance of mere floating, and as it were endemic, tradition, while it was fresh and strong; but in proportion as it languished, or was broken in particular places, did it become necessary to fall back upon its special homes, first the Apostolic Sees, and then the See of Peter. Moreover, an international bond and a common authority could not be consolidated, were it ever so certainly provided, while *persecutions* lasted. If the Imperial power checked the development of Councils, it availed also for keeping back the power of the Papacy. The Creed, the Canon of Scripture, in like manner both remained undefined. The Creed, the Canon, the Papacy, Œcumenical Councils—all began to form as soon as the Empire relaxed its tyrannous oppression of the Church. And as it was natural that her monarchical power should rise when the Empire became Christian, so was it natural also that further developments of that power should take place when that Empire fell. Moreover, when the power of the Holy See began to exert itself, disturbance and collision would be the necessary consequence. . . . As St. Paul had to plead, nay, to strive, for his Apostolic authority, and enjoined St. Timothy, as Bishop of Ephesus, to let no man despise him,—so Popes too have not therefore been ambitious, because they did not establish their authority without a struggle" (Newman, *On Development of Doct.* pp. 165–168).

The Rev. H. MILMAN, D.D. (late Dean of St. Paul's) writes as follows regarding *the necessity* of a development of the Papal authority in the time of Pope Gregory the Great, and during the mediæval period:—

"Now was the crisis in which the Papacy must reawaken its obscured and suspended life. It was *the only* power which lay not entirely and absolutely prostrate before the disasters of the times—a power which had an inherent strength, and might resume its majesty. It was this power which was *most imperatively required* to preserve all which was to survive out of the crumbling wreck of Roman civilisation. To Western Christianity was *absolutely necessary* a centre, standing alone, strong in traditionary reverence, and in acknowledged claims to supremacy. Even the perfect organisation of the Christian hierarchy might in all human probability have fallen to pieces in perpetual conflict: it might have degenerated into a half secular feudal caste with hereditary benefices, more and more entirely subservient to the civil authority, a priesthood of each nation or each tribe, gradually sinking to the intellectual or religious level of the nation or tribe. *On the rise of a power, both controlling and conservative, hung, humanly speaking, the life and death of Christianity—of Christianity as a permanent, aggressive, expansive, and to a certain extent uniform, system.* There must be a counterbalance to barbaric force, to the unavoidable anarchy of Teutonism, with its tribal or at the utmost national independence, forming a host of small, conflicting, antagonistic kingdoms. . . . It is impossible to conceive what had been the confusion, the lawlessness, the chaotic state of the Middle Ages, without the mediæval Papacy; and of the mediæval Papacy the real father is Gregory the Great" (*Hist. of Latin Christ.* Bk. iii. c. 7, vol. ii. pp. 100–102, ed. 1867).

ADDITIONAL NOTES.



I. Titles given to St. Peter by the Græco-Russian Church.—In his work entitled “THE PRIMACY OF ST. PETER DEMONSTRATED FROM THE LITURGY OF THE GRÆCO-RUSSIAN CHURCH,” the Rev. C. Tondini de Quarenghi has collected the following titles, of which the Slavonic text, with copious references, is given in an Appendix :—

“ROCK” (Πέτρα), “ROCK NOT TO BE CONFOUNDED” (ἔδρα ἀκατάσχυντος), “ROCK AND IMMOVEABLE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH” (Χαίροις, Πέτρε, πέτρα καὶ θεμέλιος τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἀσειστος), “THE ROCK OF THE CHURCH” (ἡ πέτρα τῆς ἐκκλησίας), “THE ROCK OF THE FAITH” (ἡ πέτρα τῆς πίστεως), “FOUNDATION” (κρηπὶς), “FOUNDATION OF THE FAITH” (κρηπὶς τῆς πίστεως), “THE FOUNDATION OF THE CHURCH” (ἡ κρηπὶς τῆς ἐκκλησίας), “FOUNDATION OF THE APOSTLES” (κρηπὶς τῶν ἀποστόλων), “THE SUPREME FOUNDATION OF THE APOSTLES” (ἡ κορυφαία κρηπὶς τῶν ἀποστόλων), “IMMOVEABLE BASIS OF DOGMAS” (δογμάτων βάσις ἀσειστος), “SEAT OF THE FAITH” (ἔδρα τῆς πίστεως), “THE FIRST OF THE APOSTLES” (ὁ πρῶτος τῶν ἀποστόλων), “THE SUPREME” (ὁ κορυφαῖος), “THE SUPREME OF THE DISCIPLES” (ὁ κορυφαῖος μαθητῶν), “SUPREME OF THE APOSTLES” (κορυφαῖος τῶν ἀποστόλων), “THE MOST SUPREME OF THE APOSTLES” (ὁ κορυφαῖότατος τῶν ἀποστόλων), “THE DIVINE CORYPHÆUS” (ὁ θεῖος κορυφαῖος), “THE PROTO-THRONE” (ὁ πρωτόθρονος), “PROTO-THRONE OF THE APOSTLES,” “SET OVER THE CHURCHES” (προστάτης ἐκκλησίας), “PRESIDING OVER THE CHURCH” (ἐκκλησίας πρόεδρος), “PRESIDING OVER THE APOSTLES” (πρόεδρος τῶν ἀποστόλων), “THE PRINCE OF THE COLLEGE OF THE DISCIPLES” (ὁ ἐξάρχος τοῦ χοροῦ τῶν μαθητῶν), “STANDING FIRST IN THE COLLEGE OF THE APOSTLES” (πρωτοστάτης χοροῦ τῶν ἀποστόλων), “THE CHOSEN FROM AMONG THE DISCIPLES” (ὁ πρόκριτος τῶν μαθητῶν), “THE FIRST IN RANK” (πανάριστος), “THE CHIEF OF THE THEOLOGIANS” (ἡ κορυφαία τῶν θεολόγων ἀκρότης), “SHEPHERD OF CHRIST” (τοῦ Χριστοῦ ποιμήν), “SOVEREIGN SHEPHERD OF ALL THE APOSTLES” (Pastyr vladychnyi vseh Apostolon), “CHIEF OF PASTORS OF THE RATIONAL SHEEP” (ἀρχιποιμὴν τῶν λογικῶν πρωβάτων), “DOCTOR OF THE APOSTLES” (ὁ καθηγητὴς τῶν ἀποστόλων), “THE SURE REPOSITORY OF THE KINGDOM” (ταμίας ἀσφαλῆς τῆς βασιλείας), “KEY-BEARER OF GRACE” (κλειδοῦχος τῆς χάριτος), “KEY-BEARER OF THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN” (κλειδοῦχος τῆς οὐρανῶν βασιλείας).

II. Early Foundation of the Church of Rome by St. Peter.—On this subject Dr. DOLLINGER writes as follows :—“The Roman Church must have been founded by an Apostle, and that Apostle can only have been Peter. St. Paul declares, in his Epistle to the Romans, that he had often withstood his longing to come to them, because he made a principle of only bringing the Gospel where Christ had not yet been preached, so as not to build on another man’s foundation. But now, after the Church had been founded in the West, he was going into Spain, and would visit Rome on the way (*Rom.* xv. 20–24). He was unwilling, then, at that time to undertake a regular Apostolic office in Rome, ‘because the foundation was already laid.’ By whom? St. Paul cannot possibly have meant by the chance visit of some nameless believer, or by those who returned from Jerusalem and related what they had heard there; he found irregular pre-announcements of that kind in most Churches, to which he none the less devoted

his special energies. He cannot, in a word, mean that it was his principle only to teach where no one had preached the Gospel before him ; for, on the one hand, no intelligible ground for such a rule can be imagined,—on the other, the contrary is proved by his labours in Antioch and Cyprus, and his anxious care and earnest exhortations written to the community of Colossæ, which was unknown to him personally. He must refer, therefore, to his former agreement with the great Apostles at Jerusalem, and the position he took towards them, according to which he desired to abstain from meddling with their work, or building on a foundation laid by them. There can be no doubt, then, that it was St. Peter, perhaps accompanied by St. John, who had laid the foundation in Rome.

“ The formation of a Church at Rome, in the centre of the Empire, where the number of Jews was greater and their position more important than at any other town out of Judæa excepting Alexandria, was far too important a matter to be left to chance. . . . While all the principal Churches have their tradition about the men to whom they owe their first foundation, PETER is marked out, both by the universal tradition of all Churches and the special tradition of the Roman, as the founder and first ruler of that Church, and is said—which comes to the same thing—to have first gone to Rome under Claudius. . . .

“ The Roman Church, when St. Paul wrote his Epistle, was in a different state, and is addressed by him in a different tone from other Churches. It was already complete, so to speak, and its faith spoken of over all the world (*Rom.* i. 8 ; xvi. 19). There were no quarrels and party-strifes ; Jews and Gentiles lived together in the Church as brethren ; and St. Paul speaks in turn to the one and the other, but he speaks with an apologetic respectfulness, found in none of his other Epistles. He excuses his ‘ boldness ’ in admonishing them, appealing to his lofty mission as a minister of Christ among the Gentiles, although the main contents of the Epistle concern the Jews more than the Gentiles. He knows well that the Roman Christians are already ‘ filled with all knowledge.’ It is impossible he could have written in such terms at a time when the most imperfect knowledge of the new doctrine was found in many communities, and among individuals like Apollos, unless he had recognised in the person of its founder and first preacher a guarantee for the purity and perfection of the Gospel planted there. It is only at the end that he introduces a very short and generally-worded warning against divisions (*Rom.* xvi. 17, 18). Neither, again, had he any Judaising opponents at Rome, as in so many other communities ; and if we consider that the Church there was clearly not founded by his disciples, while yet its unity implied a well-ordered ecclesiastical organisation, such as then could only be set up by an Apostle, we are brought back to Peter as the only founder who can be imagined ” (*First Age of the Church*, 2d ed. p. 94 seq.)

III. Silence of St. Luke and St. Paul regarding St. Peter’s labours in Rome.—(See notes in pp. 51, 110.) In regard to the *policy of reserve* shown by the early Christian writers, Dr. FARRAR has lately observed : —“ It was indispensable to the safety of the whole community that the books of the Christians, when given up by the unhappy weakness of ‘ traditors,’ or discovered by the keen malignity of informers, should contain no compromising matter. . . . No danger incurred by the early Christians was greater than that caused by the universal prevalence of political spies. If one of these wretches got possession of any Christian writing which could be construed into an attack or a reflection upon their terrible persecutors, hundreds might be involved in indiscriminate punishment on a charge of high treason (*læsæ majestatis*), which was their most formidable engine of despotic power. St. Paul, writing to the Thessalonians even so early as A.D. 52, had found it necessary to speak of the Roman Empire and of the Emperor Claudius or Nero in terms of studied enigma (2 *Thess.* ii.

3-12). St. Peter, making a casual allusion to Rome, had been obliged to veil it under the mystic name of Babylon (1 *Pet.* v. 13). . . .

"The reference to Rome as Babylon (in 1 *Pet.* v. 13) may have originated in a mystic application of the Old Testament prophecies, but it had its advantages afterwards as a secret symbol. It is therefore a mistake to suppose that the use of Babylon for Rome would be the sudden obtrusion of 'allegory' into matter of fact, or that by using it the Apostle would be 'going out of his way to make an enigma for all future readers.' There is, in fact, a marked accordance between such an expression and the conception which St. Peter indicates throughout his letter, that all Christians are exiles scattered from the Heavenly Jerusalem, living, some of them, in the earthly Babylon.¹ An early Christian would have seen nothing either allegorical or enigmatical in the matter. He would at once have understood the meaning and have known the reasons, alike mystic and political, for avoiding the name of Rome" (FARRAR'S *Early Days of Christianity*, 1882, vol. i. p. 82, vol. ii. pp. 236, 517).

The omission of St. Peter's name in the salutations (*Rom.* xvi.) is often urged by Protestants as a conclusive proof that St. Peter was not then Bishop of Rome. It is evident, however, *first*, that the omission may have been caused by the policy of reserve before mentioned, or even by St. Peter's temporary absence from Rome. *Secondly*, That if St. Peter had been then in Rome, a private letter or communication sent to him through the messenger Phœbe (*Rom.* xvi. 1) would have rendered it superfluous to salute him in the Epistle to the Roman Church. *Thirdly*, St. Paul does not salute or make mention of *any other* Bishop or Pastor of the Roman Christians. Will any Protestant thence conclude that they had *no* Bishop or Pastor over them? or that SS. James and Timothy were not Bishops respectively of Jerusalem and Ephesus, because St. Paul, in his Epistles to the Hebrews and Ephesians, neither salutes those Bishops nor makes any mention whatever of them? Dr. LARDNER writes:—"It was a common thing with the Apostle to inscribe his Epistles to the Churches or Saints of such a place, without any particular notice of their officers, though there were men of that character among them" (*Hist. of the Apost. and Evang.* ch. xiii.)

Another objection is raised by Protestants from 2 *Tim.* iv. 16, where St. Paul, writing from Rome, says:—"At my first defence no one took my part, but all forsook me." But, in the *first* place, Dr. WORDSWORTH says that St. Paul's words do not refer to his trial in Rome, but to "his public defence IN ASIA" (*Greek Test.* vol. ii. p. 480). *Secondly*, Dr. LARDNER remarks, that "If Peter had then been in Rome, he could not have afforded any assistance to his brother Apostle, nor would Paul have expected it of him; for Peter himself was an obnoxious person. Paul refers only to such as by their station were likely to be of some use to him, if they had appeared with him, and had exerted themselves in his behalf" (*Hist. of Apost. and Evang.* ch. xii.)

Another objection, drawn from the words in ver. 11, "Only Luke is with me," is answered sufficiently by the note of Dr. WORDSWORTH:—"Luke alone of his usual fellow-travellers; for other friends were with him now. See ver. 21."

IV. 1 *Pet.* v. 13:—"The Church which is at Babylon saluteth you." The Jews had long been accustomed to call Rome "*Babylon*." See MILL'S *Prolegom.* n. 59, 60, ap. LARDNER, *Hist. of the Apost. and Evang.* ch. xix., and WORDSWORTH'S notes on *Rev.* xvii. Dr. DOLLINGER writes:—"St. Peter's own testimony in his First Epistle raises to a certainty the fact of his having been at Rome. The letter is written from a city he calls Baby-

¹ 1 *Pet.* i. 1,—παρεπιδήμοις : v. 13, ἐν Βαβυλῶνι. See Godet's *New Testament Studies*.

lon. This cannot reasonably be understood of the Egyptian Babylon, a strong fortress and station of a Roman legion ; and thus the question arises whether it is Babylon on the Euphrates, or whether, according to a method of speech very natural to the Jews of that day from the usage of the Prophets, it means Rome. The latter is the belief of the Ancient Church, following a tradition of the Apostolic age, to which Papias bears testimony.

“That St. Peter had passed over the boundaries of the Roman Empire into Parthia to Babylon on the Euphrates, that there was already a Christian community there, and that from thence the Apostle salutes the believers to whom he is writing—this is more than improbable. Strabo and Pliny mention Babylon as ‘a great desert,’ which, chiefly from the neighbourhood of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, had become emptied of inhabitants (Plin. *Hist. Nat.* vi. 26 ; Strabo, xvi. 738). The towns of Nearda and Nisibis were the principal Jewish settlements in the Babylonian Satrapy ; the Jews moved from Babylon several years before St. Peter could have come there, because they could not hold out against the heathen inhabitants, who were hostile to them ; and soon afterwards another emigration took place on account of a pestilence. Five years later more than 50,000 Jews were put to death in Seleucia by the Syrians and Greeks, and the remainder went, not back to Babylon, but to Nearda and Nisibis (Josephus, *Arch.* xviii. 9) ; the only inference therefore to be drawn from Josephus’s History is, that at the date of St. Peter’s Epistle there were no longer any Jews in Babylon ; and so, too, Agrippa, in his speech at the beginning of the Jewish war, knew of no Jews to name beyond the Jordan, except those in the province of Adiabene. That St. Mark, who was in ‘Babylon’ (1 *Pet.* v. 13) with the Apostle, was at Rome at the precise time when there is every reason to believe that this Epistle was written, is clear from St. Paul’s mentioning him (*Col.* iv. 10, *Philem.* 24). Soon after he was staying in Asia Minor, whence St. Paul recalled him to Rome (2 *Tim.* iv. 11), shortly before his death” (*First Age of the Church*, pp. 97, 98).

A “*geographical reason*” for holding to the literal meaning of the word Babylon has been pretended by some Protestant writers, on account of St. Peter’s mode of enumerating the provinces in 1 *Pet.* i. 1 ; but Canon FARRAR declares that “this is an argument which *will not stand a moment’s consideration*” (*Early Days of Christ.* vol. ii. p. 515). Dr. LARDNER says :—“Supposing Peter to have been in Mesopotamia, the country nearest him would be Cappadocia, as lying more eastward and more southward than the two first named. Certainly Pontus and Galatia were farther off from Mesopotamia than Cappadocia. The truth is, Peter begins at the north, and so goes round. And that way of beginning does *as well suit Rome as Babylon*, so far as I can see” (*Hist. of Apost. and Evang.* ch. xix. sect. iii.)

V. **St. Peter and St. Mark.**—Dean ALFORD says :—“It was *universally believed in the Ancient Church* that Mark’s Gospel was written under the influence, and almost the dictation, of Peter” (*Greek Test.* vol. i. Proleg. ch. 3). Dr. LARDNER says :—“*All the ancient writers in general* suppose the Evangelist Mark to have been a companion of Peter in the later part of his life, and to have had great advantages from that Apostle’s preaching for composing a Gospel.” (The authors cited by him are PAPIAS (A.D. 116), IRENÆUS (A.D. 178), CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (A.D. 194), TERTULLIAN (A.D. 200), ORIGEN, EUSEBIUS, ATHANASIUS, EPIPHANIUS, GREGORY NAZIANZEN, EBEDJESU, JEROME, CHRYSOSTOM, AUGUSTINE, VICTOR, COSMAS OF ALEXANDRIA, ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, ŒCUMENIUS, THEOPHYLACT, EUTHYMIUS, EUTYCHIUS OF ALEXANDRIA.) . . . “The *general account* of the above-named writers is, that Mark wrote his Gospel at Rome. In this there is a remarkable agreement, with a very few exceptions. CHRYSOSTOM indeed speaks of its being writ in Egypt ; but he is almost

singular. THAT IT WAS WRIT AT ROME, OR IN ITALY, IS SAID NOT ONLY BY EPIPHANIUS, JEROME, GREGORY NAZIANZEN, VICTOR, AND DIVERS OTHERS, BUT THE EGYPTIAN WRITERS ALL ALONG SAY THE SAME THING—THAT IT WAS WRIT BY MARK AT ROME, IN THE COMPANY OF THE APOSTLE PETER. So say CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ATHANASIUS, COSMAS, and EUTYCHIUS—all of Alexandria; EBEDJESU, likewise, in his catalogue of SYRIAN writings, says that Mark wrote at Rome. And the LATIN author of the Commentary upon St. Mark's Gospel says that it was writ in Italy" (*Hist. of the Apost. and Evang.* ch. vii.)

VI. **St. Peter and Simon Magus.**—St. Peter's exposure of Simon Magus in Rome is related, not only in the early pseudo-Clementine writings, but also by HIPPOLYTUS (or the author of the ancient work *Adv. Hær.*, vi. 15), ARNOBIUS, EUSEBIUS, CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, and others. JUSTIN MARTYR (A.D. 140), in his *First Apology*, states that Simon Magus went to Rome, and deceived many by his magical arts in that city. He adds that he was there worshipped as a god, and was honoured by a statue erected to him in the river Tiber, with the superscription "*Simoni Deo Sancto.*" "Justin's authority," it is said in SMITH'S DICT. OF THE BIBLE, vol. iii. p. 1321, "has been impugned in respect of this statement, on the ground that a tablet was discovered in 1574 on the *Tiburina Insula*, which answers to the locality described by Justin, and bearing an inscription, the first words of which are 'Semoni sancio deo fideo.' This inscription, which really refers to the Sabine Hercules *Sancus Semo*, is supposed to have been mistaken by Justin, in his ignorance of Latin, for one in honour of Simon. If the inscription had been confined to the words quoted by Justin, such a mistake might have been conceivable; but it goes on to state the name of the giver and other particulars: '*Semoni Sancio Deo Fidio sacrum Sex. Pompeius Sp. F. Col. Mussianus Quinquennalis decus Bidentalibus donum dedit.*' That Justin, a man of literary acquirements, should be unable to translate such an inscription—that he should misquote it in an Apology duly prepared at Rome for the eye of a Roman Emperor, and that the mistake should be repeated by other early writers whose knowledge of Latin is unquestioned (Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* i. 20; Tertullian, *Apol.* 13)—these assumptions form a series of improbabilities amounting almost to an impossibility."

The Protestant translators of Justin Martyr's works, in CLARK'S *Ante-Nicene Christian Library* (vol. ii. p. 29, *note*), say:—"This inscription Justin is supposed to have mistaken for the one he gives above. This has always seemed to us very slight evidence on which to reject so precise a statement as Justin here makes; a statement which he would scarcely have hazarded in an Apology addressed to Rome, where every person had the means of ascertaining its accuracy. If, as is supposed, he made a mistake, it must have been at once exposed, and other writers would not have so frequently repeated the story as they have done." See also BURTON'S *Bampton Lectures*, p. 374.

Whatever may be thought regarding the erection of a statue to Simon Magus, St. Justin's testimony strongly corroborates the accounts given by other early authors of the exposure of the magician by St. Peter in Rome. The words of HIPPOLYTUS, or the author of the *Philosophumena* (A.D. 220), above referred to, are:—"This Simon . . . was reprov'd by the Apostles, and laid under a curse, as it has been written in the Acts. But he afterwards abjured the faith, . . . and travelling as far as Rome, he fell in with the Apostles; and TO HIM, DECEIVING MANY BY HIS SORCERIES, PETER OFFERED REPEATED OPPOSITIONS" (*Adv. Hær. Lib.* vi. c. 15).

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